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H. W. Crocker III

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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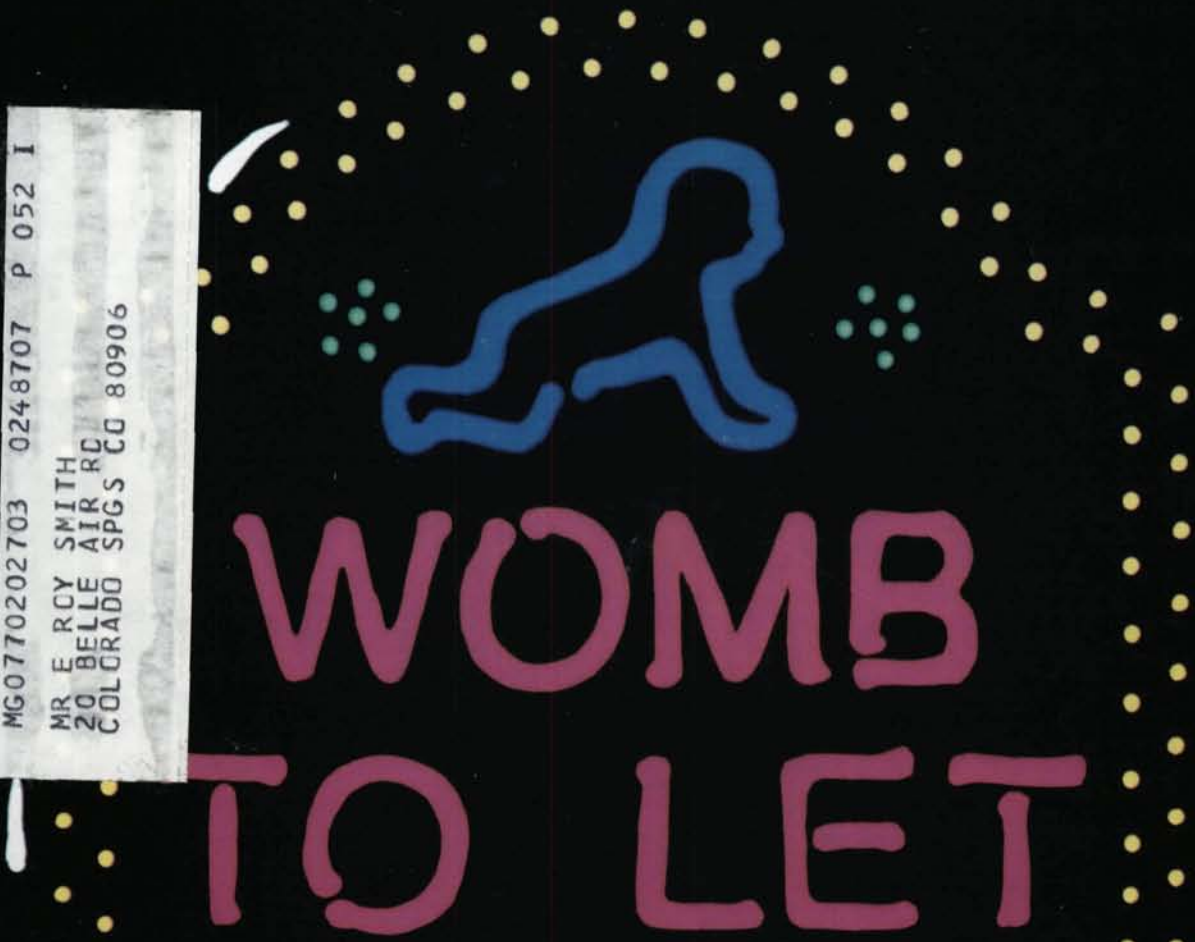

Maggie Gallagher on Surrogate Moms

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George Gilder versus the Protectionist Grinch

Yonas Deressa on What Ethiopia Needs More Than Live Aid

Donald Hall on Guy Davenport, Conquistador

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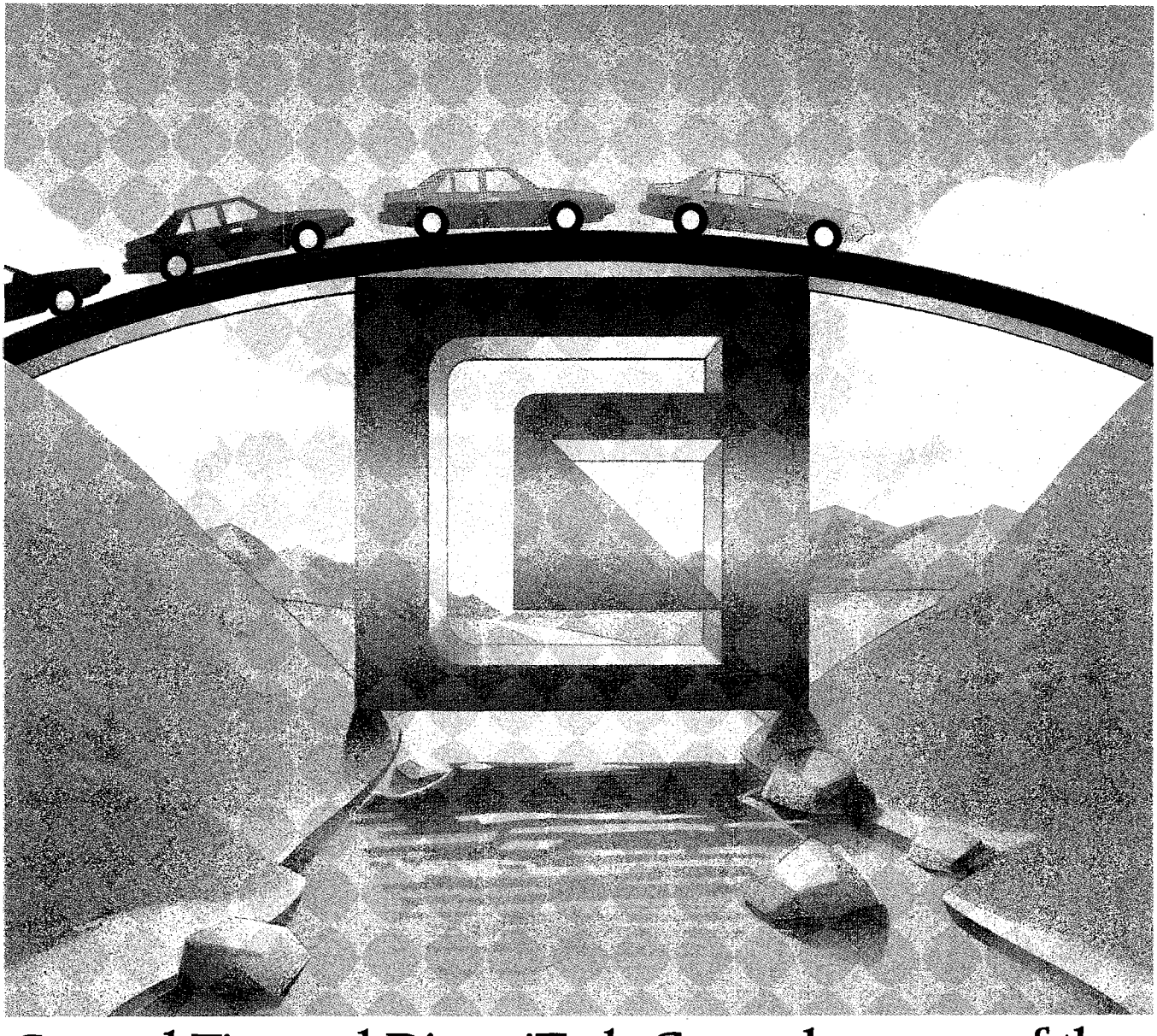

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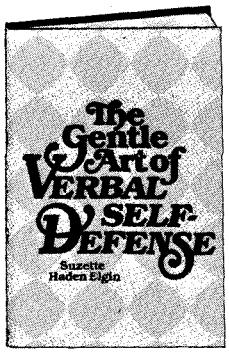

For anyone who's ever been pulverized by put-downs, rankled by reproaches, or irritated by insinuations, here's a revolutionary book that devotes itself *completely* to tactics of verbal self-defense. *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* teaches you how to defend yourself diplomatically in delicate family situations and in the hard-nosed business world. And this book is so thorough and easy-to-understand that you can read it once and become the kind of person everybody admires—the person who stays unruffled during confrontations, who always says the right thing, and who enjoys good relations with everyone.

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This book explains the various ways that people will try to bait you and then it tells you how to *stop* them with a few carefully chosen words. And it shows you how and when to use blunt honesty, agreement, humor, flattery, and distraction.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.

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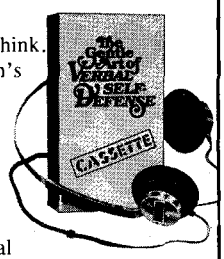

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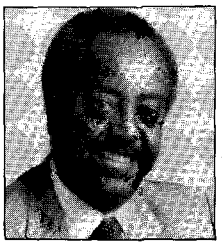
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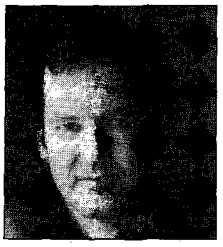
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Surrogate motherhood is being sold as the high-tech way to make a baby, another episode in the inexorable march of science. In reality it's about as scientific as basting a turkey and as new-fangled as Rumpelstiltzkin. They're selling babies. *Maggie Gallagher*

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Issues of the Information Age:

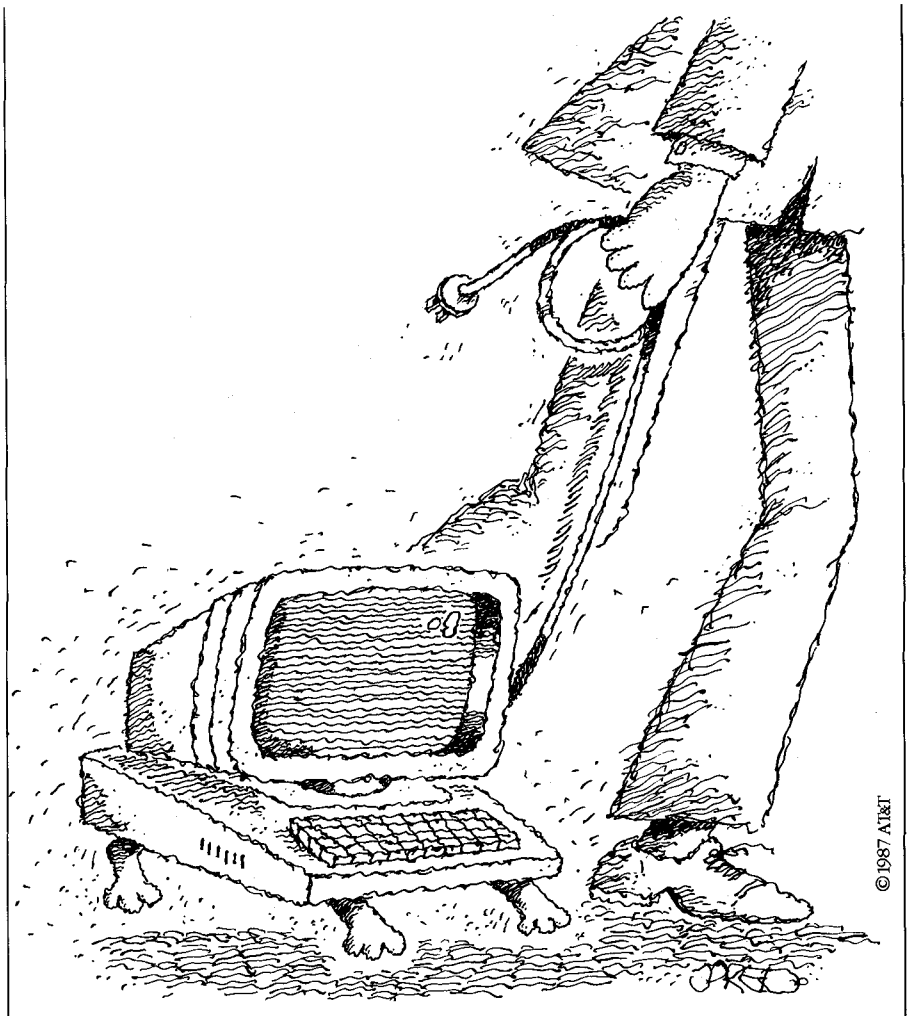
The paradox of power.

The Information Age, for all its potential, has brought with it a new kind of problem. Often, the machines that contribute so much to the flood of information do little to help most of us cope with it. They are difficult to use, rigid in their demands, almost arrogant in their inability to work with any but their own kind. They are the muscle-bound tools of specialists.

In our view, the problem is not that the machines are too powerful for the rest of us. They are not powerful enough.

This is the paradox of power: the more powerful the machine, the less power it exerts over the person using it. We define a more powerful machine as one that is more capable of bending to the will of humans, rather than having humans bend to its will. The definition is deeply ingrained in AT&T. The telephone is such a powerful device precisely because it demands so little of its user.

AT&T foresees the day when the Information Age will become universal. People everywhere will participate in a worldwide Telecommunity. They will be able to handle information in any form—conversation, data, images, text—as easily as they now make a phone call.



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That day is coming closer. One example: scientists at AT&T Bell Laboratories are developing "associative" memories for computers, further enabling the machines to work with incomplete, imprecise, or even contradictory information. That's perfectly natural for a human. What makes it a breakthrough is that these computers won't ask you to be anything else.

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LETTERS

Washington Bash

Thanks to David Brooks ["The Young Pol's Guide to the Brave New World," April 10] for confirming my long-held suspicion that Washington is but a wimpy wine-and-cheese town where timid yes-men talk in tongues about the most trivial non-topics. Mr. Brooks should also be given a Pulitzer for using "Faulknerian" as a pejorative.

But he did fail to point out one thing that seems rather obvious to me in the light of his insights, namely that the Reagan Revolution was, in its essence, anti-Washington. That's why the press was somewhat satisfied by the resignation of Don Regan, the Administration's most explicit anti-Washington figure, apart from Ronald Reagan himself.

Of course the Revolution failed. The Beltway is a Venus' flytrap. The only way to do away with or at least control the stifling mediocrity of D.C. would be to follow Henry Hazlitt's advice, as given in *Man vs. the Welfare State*: deny all employees of the Federal Government the right of suffrage. That would take care of paid voting armies.

Mike Grescia
New London, Conn.

Trickle Up

John Roche's superb article on the NSC ["Taming the NSC," March 27] is the first thing I have read on the Iran imbroglio that comes close to pointing out a crucial fact about the flow of information. It is a commonplace among those of us who study the business of communication that in most organizations —though apparently *not* LBJ's White House—information flows from the bottom up: If someone down the line, even a minor functionary, wants to block information from reaching his immediate superior (let alone the head man), he can do so with amazing ease. Oliver North seems to qualify. Even if we discount the many normal gaps that occur in *any* communication system, we still have to account, in the Iran affair, for one seriously abnormal gap.

Of all the competing hypotheses to explain that gap, the simplest and most encompassing is that North, and Poindexter, had an agenda that they knew would be disapproved of if it were known. Solution? Don't let it be known. Is it not striking, for example, that North's USSR-Iran scenario, which *NR* thought such a revelation ["What Ollie North Told Me before He Took the Fifth," by Neil C. Livingstone, Jan. 30], has not surfaced elsewhere, even from those who could use it as a defense? Surely *that*, if true, would have been pushed up the pipeline. We must conclude, then, that it either is false or was blocked. In either case, we are left with the same one or two culprits.

James Como
York College
Jamaica, N.Y.

John P. Roche's "Taming the NSC" failed to address the crucial difference between Lyndon Johnson and Ronald Reagan: the time in which they held office. If Lyndon Johnson had had to cope with the loss of postwar foreign-policy consensus, a bitterly adversarial press, and a rebellious Congress, he would probably have remained an obscure Texas politician. As a matter of fact, Johnson finally had to face just those situations toward the end of his term, and he wisely decided not to run again.

It is ironic that Lyndon Johnson, whose Vietnam adventure did so much to bring about the current polarization in American society, should be offered up as an example of how to govern.

Jon Talton
Kettering, Ohio

Extra! Extra!

I found Joseph Sobran's article on Howard Beach ["The Use and Abuse of Race," March 27] an entirely persuasive examination of how news is made by the media. But I do think Mr. Sobran made a mistake, owing to a confusion of genres, when he wrote: "The 'responsible' media—as distinct from the sensationalist tabloids, which favor *news*—are those which stay within the closed field. The fewer banner headlines, the more respectable, since banner headlines register surprise, and to be surprised is to admit you didn't know, in principle, what to expect."

Now, I find it hard to believe that tabloid writers are really surprised every time they write, or tabloid readers surprised every time they read, that "89-YEAR-OLD GRANDMA / GIVES BIRTH TO TWINS," or "HUBBY KEEPS WIFE / IN CLOSET 25 YEARS." Those are, as much as the

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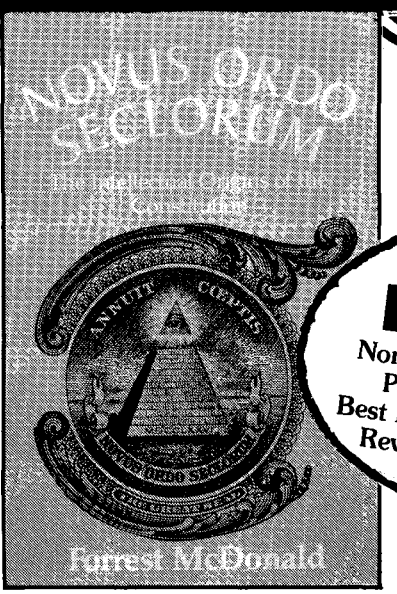

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Times's drachma story, "the self-confirmation of a closed perceptual field." The tabloid headlines that really are worth reading, I admit, are infinitely more interesting than any headline in a respectable newspaper. But they are so on purely literary grounds. It's the poetry, and not the shock value, that permanently enshrines headlines such as "HEADLESS BODY FOUND IN TOPLESS BAR," or "STORYBOOK ROMANCE ENDS IN TRAGEDY AS LEGLESS VET SLAYS DWARF BRIDE."

And for that matter, to what shocking item of news did the *New York Post* give one of its biggest headlines ever? SON OF SAM SLEEPS.

Laura di Stefano
Baltimore, Md.

I enjoyed Joseph Sobran's trenchant yet thoughtful article on Howard Beach. After the warning at the beginning, I expected it to be a *little* inflammatory.

Mr. Sobran does fall into a parallel hole to the one the *New York Times* editorial writer fell into. The *Times* was saying, This is Important, and look, it made our Op-Ed page. Mr. Sobran is saying, This is Not Important, and let me tell you why—therein proving the *Times* right (by wasting column inches).

The *Times* is right, but for the wrong reason. Racism should come out of the closet so that as Americans we can come to grips with it. Let us ask black people what *they* want, not what white liberals or groups such as PUSH want for them. Only with honest, even painful, discussions can this country move forward by eliminating such things as affirmative action and *carte blanche* welfare.

Michael Mullen
Evanston, Ill.

Joseph Sobran's ability to shine light in clouded places is a delight. His analysis of the Howard Beach non-event is particularly useful for blowing the whistle on media guile. We might call liberal reporting the "I told you so" school of journalism, because every story supports the same views over and over again.

Murray Howden
Allentown, Pa.

Homo Sapiens, Too

Heterosexuality does not need to be defended ["Tragic Confusion," "The Week," March 13]. Given the number of teenage pregnancies, it appears to be thriving.

What does require protection is the following set of norms: love, loyalty, the recognition that physical acts have moral consequences, and the willingness to nurture the next generation. The last can be accomplished without having children, as many a kindly spinster teacher and Roman Catholic priest demonstrate.

The fact is that homosexual couples may exhibit the same positive ethical values we expect of heterosexual couples. When you stop confusing homosexuality with reckless promiscuity, you may stop causing the "pain to homosexuals" you claim to have no interest in promoting.

Ronald Najman
New York, N.Y.

In the editorial "Tragic Confusion," I note the following with some surprise: "Heterosexual norms can be defended on the basis of general experience; defended on Burkean grounds, the everlasting contract among generations; defended, many think, on natural-law grounds—what is 'appropriate' to the human condition; defended by the overwhelming lyrical vote of world literature, with only a few eccentric exceptions; and defended, especially today, on clear prudential grounds of public health."

Defended, in short, by what Roman lawyers called the *ius naturale* and the *ius gentium*. But nowhere in *NR*'s catalogue is the highest authority invoked—the authority of God's Law as inscribed

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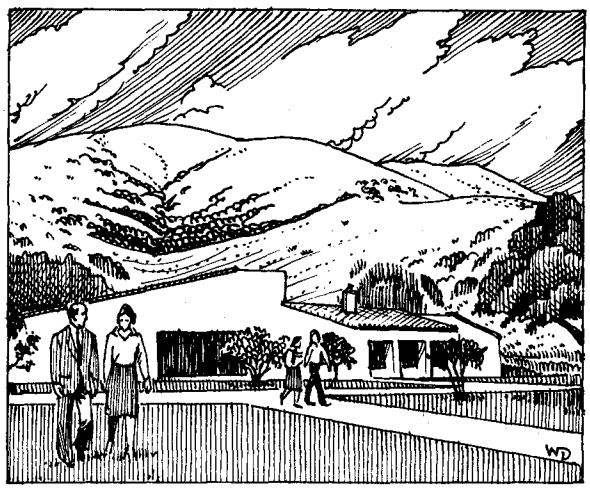

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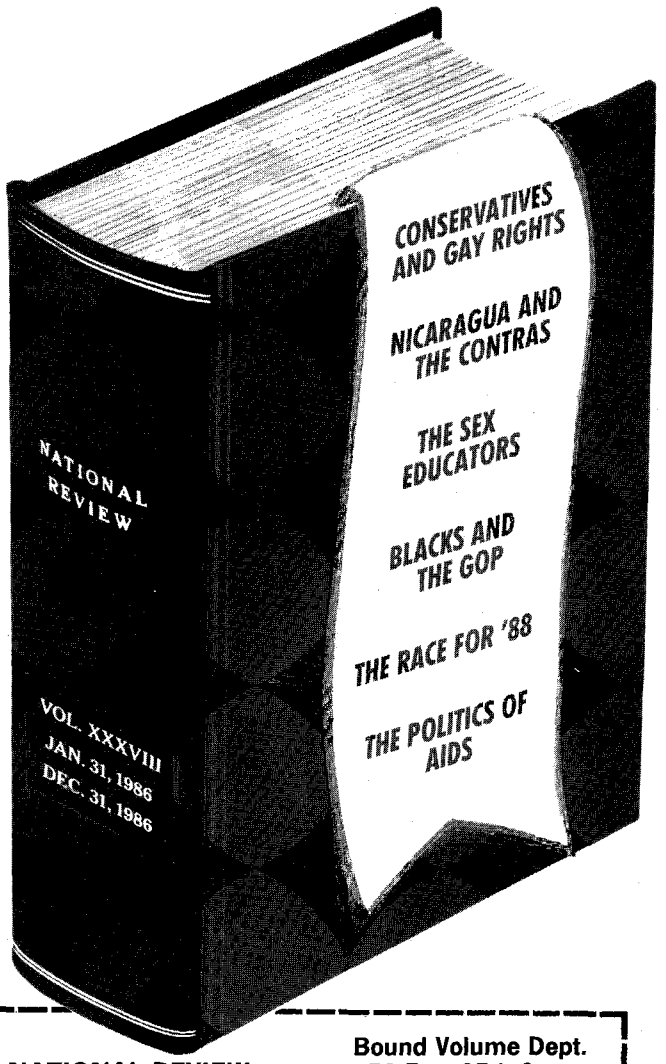

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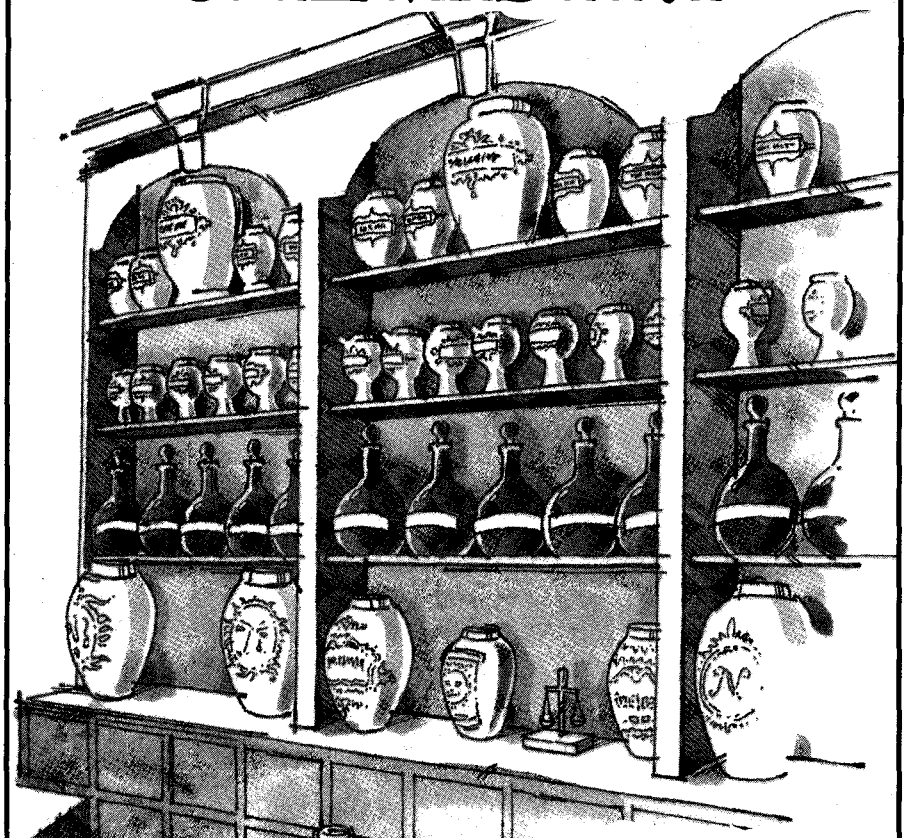

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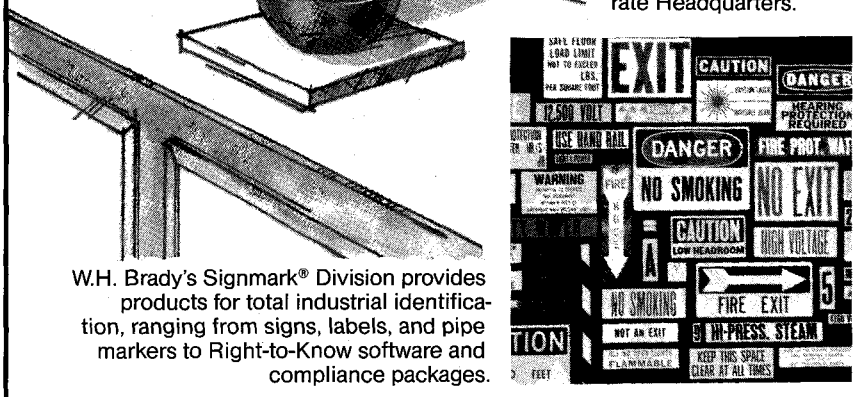

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in the Pentateuch: "Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind: It is an abomination." This Old Testament proscription was in no wise nullified or softened by the New, unless we write off the words of Jesus when He said: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am come not to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

That *NR* should cite Edmund Burke or the *ius gentium* but ignore the Law to which both Judaism and Christianity adhere gives this reader pause.

Ralph de Toledano
Washington, D.C.

Forward Retreat

John Simon, in his review of *Platoon* ["Found in the Mud," March 13], says that among its excesses is Sergeant Elias's "double death" when he is shot at close range by Barnes at night and is then seen the next day by Chris as he (Elias) charges the enemy.

This rendition is simply wrong. Barnes shoots Elias in daylight at a range of about thirty yards. Chris then sees Elias not the next day but about ten minutes later. He is not charging the enemy but running away from them.

Mr. Simon's opinion of the movie was as correct as his rendition of the facts.

Stanley H. Kelley
Loganville, Ga.

Too Little Too Late

Your chastisement of the liberals for maintaining a discreet silence about the case of John Demjanjuk ["Ivan the Terrible?" "The Week," March 27] rings hollow. The Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) has been denaturalizing and deporting Americans on questionable evidence for several years now, and NATIONAL REVIEW has been as quiet as any liberal publication.

The evidence being presented against Mr. Demjanjuk in Jerusalem is virtually the same as that presented against him by the OSI in Cleveland in 1981. Since that time, some commentators (notably Robert Gillette and Patrick Buchanan) have delved into and taken issue with OSI practices, but NATIONAL REVIEW has for the most part stood aloof.

While your acknowledgment that there might be problems with OSI-generated evidence is welcome, it is hardly an adequate response to the most ambitious assault on our civil liberties since the McCarthy era.

William A. Kunberger
Camden, N.J.

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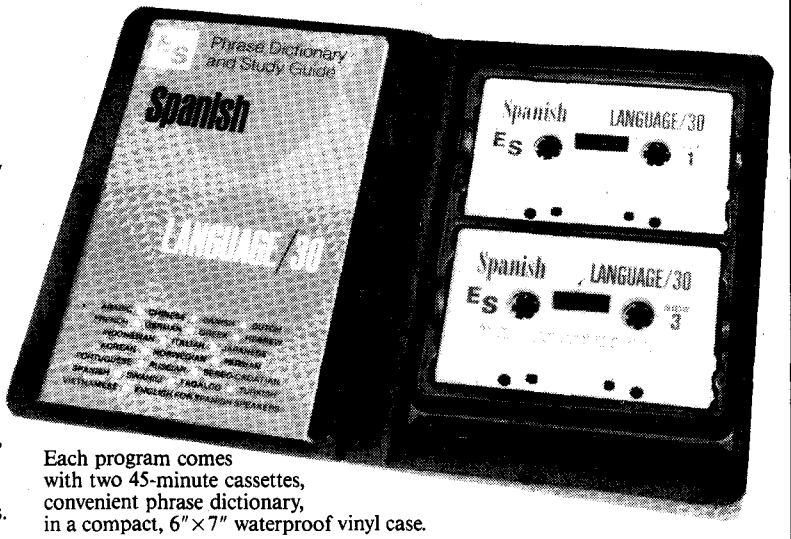

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FOR THE RECORD

Christian Science Monitor headline on meeting in New York of GOP presidential hopefuls (**Bush**, **Kemp**, **Haig**, **du Pont**, **Rumsfeld**) with GOP House leaders made the point: "GOP '88 HOPEFULS HEW TO REAGAN LINE." And so they did, on aid to Contras, SDI, no tax hike. Jack Kemp went one step further, with ringing call for laws that would "define the unborn as persons"—affirming his support of Reagan position on abortion. . . . Kemp, incidentally, was only GOP House leader (Kemp is Republican Conference chairman) to vote to sustain President on highway veto. . . . **Evans & Novak** report that Minority Leader **Robert Michel**'s limp leadership on highway bill, past (and future) Contra votes is stirring mini-revolt among House GOP conservatives. They're talking, say E&N, of Jack Kemp as unofficial whip to push President's programs. . . . Much jubilation among the troops over announcement that conservative **Kenneth Cribb** will be Reagan's advisor on domestic affairs—a key White House spot—and that the active and able Heritage Foundation president, **Edwin J. Feulner**, "will work with the Cabinet and the White House staff to coordinate the Administration's domestic agenda." (See also "Cato.") . . . First post-news-conference polls show rise of three to five points in President's approval rating. . . . Within the Beltway, Reagan's performance at Gridiron dinner won plaudits across the board. Samples: "Do you remember," said the President, "when I said the bombing would begin in five minutes? Remember when I fell asleep during my audience with the Pope? Remember Bitburg? [Pause.] Those were the good old days." And, "It's true hard work never killed anyone, but I figure, why take the chance?" Or, "I heard one presidential candidate say that what the country needed was a President for the Nineties. I was set to run again. I thought he said a President *in* his nineties." . . . Commented *Washington Post*'s **David Broder**: "There will be time—and need—to revisit the issues of the Reagan Presidency. But having one night to laugh together—and have a President who will lead the laughter—really helps."

Holland, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

"Do you mind passively smoking?"

Testing the waters: Charter 77, the leading Czech dissident group, has called on President **Gustav Husak** to seek a pullout of Soviet troops and missiles from Czechoslovakia at his meeting with **Gorbachev** this month. Charter 77 suggests the time has come for a "re-appraisal" of agreements that provided for the "temporary stationing" of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia forty years ago. . . . Recently freed Soviet poet **Irina Ratushinskaya** points out that if Soviet authorities continue to release political dissidents at current rate (sixty in four months) the last one will be out in twenty years—if, that is, no Soviet citizen has been imprisoned for speaking his mind or practicing his religion in the meantime. . . . The Strasbourg-based 21-nation **Council of Europe** has called on Soviet Union to respect the right of self-determination and other human rights in Soviet-occupied Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. . . . French polls indicate 70 per cent support for life sentence meted out to terrorist **Georges Ibrahim Abdallah**.

On the Left: Brace yourselves for major anti-South Africa, anti-Contra demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco April 25. Delegates from 119 cities expected to converge on Washington. Move is sponsored by Communist Party U.S.A. and assorted lefty pacifist groups. . . . Catholic Bishop **Walter Sullivan** of Richmond was at it again last week, at Lenten Witness for Peace demo in Washington. "I'm here," he said, "to do penance for what is occurring in Central America, especially the aid to the Contras, which is causing death and destruction." . . . A reprise of Sixties is scheduled for Amherst, Mass., May 16, when **Ramsey Clark**, **Daniel Ellsberg**, and others make appearances at disturbing-the-peace trial of **Abbie Hoffman**, **Amy Carter**.

On the Right: *NR* contributor Father **Stanley Jaki** will receive $330,000 **Templeton** Award from **Prince Philip** in Windsor Castle ceremony in May. Prize is given to individual whose "original pioneering ways [have] advanced the knowledge and love of God." Money will go to help Hungarian Benedictines now in exile. Father Jaki is a Benedictine monk. . . . At the University of Colorado, Professor **Edward Rozek** and new conservative *Colorado Review* have polled top administrators and department chairmen on their political affiliations. Their findings: Of the top 56 CU officials, 38 are Democrats, 15 unaffiliated, three Republicans. . . . U.S. Catholic Conference calls advocacy by National Council of Churches of condom ads on TV "short-sighted, self-defeating, and ultimately [a] false solution to a serious moral problem." . . . Supreme Court has agreed to rule on constitutionality of D.C. law that bans hostile demonstrations in front of foreign embassies. Case was brought by **Mike Boos** of Young America's Foundation.

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Toward a more competitive America—IV

Did we shoot ourselves in the foot?

During our discussion of productivity in recent weeks, we have cited the budget deficit, the trade imbalance, and the loss of ground to foreign competition as major problems facing the economy. In seeking solutions, we think Americans have to be asking whether we've shot ourselves in the foot.

As we've said earlier in this series, most economists agree that this nation's trade deficit—its apparent inability to compete effectively against foreign producers—stems from the huge budget deficit, which keeps both real interest rates and the value of the dollar abnormally high. (While the dollar has plunged against the West German and Japanese currencies in the past year, it has remained relatively stable against the currencies of most of our other major trading partners, including the Canadians, Brazilians, South Koreans, and Taiwanese.)

But our national leaders have done little to address the deficit problem. Political demands seem to outweigh the economic ones as Congress and the Administration submit differing budget proposals, and the debate centers largely on cosmetics rather than fundamentals.

Instead of a serious attack on the deficit, Congress devoted two years to tax "reform." But unlike the Japanese, America's leaders refused to consider the consumption tax that could make genuine and lasting inroads on the budget deficit and provide a strong incentive to save and invest. Our leaders still quibble over how much fat there remains to be trimmed from federal spending. In our view the probable answer is lots. But we remain convinced that additional revenue sources may also have to be found—and that a consumption tax is one we ought to seriously consider.

And the tax changes Congress labored so mightily to enact seem to have been written with no consideration of America's competitive position in world markets. We've already cited the major ways in which tax "reform" hinders the ability of business to invest and thereby increase productivity: the loss of the investment tax credit and the stretchout of depreciation schedules. We've also cited the ways it hinders savings: by limiting IRAs and 401(k) plans.

We can understand a Congress anxious to close real or perceived tax loopholes at a time of budget deficits. But we would expect the feeling of belt-tightening and reduced expectations also to become part of the congressional mentality. So far, it hasn't.

In our industry alone, in addition to the $10 billion impact over five years of tax reform, we face additional millions in new taxes for the Superfund to clean up orphan dumps. We face added refining costs related to the removal of lead from regular gasoline. And in the congressional hopper are additional proposals—costly ones—involving waste treatment, acid rain, and federal clean air standards. Other industries face similar mandated expenditures.

We recognize the need to address environmental concerns in a timely way. But those concerns are everyone's. So is national competitiveness. For our leaders not to consider the impact on trade when they legislate is counterproductive. Special taxes and other burdens can limit the ability of American companies to meet the threat of foreign competition—and thereby worsen the nation's economic problems. Societal problems, we feel, should be paid for in a simple, direct and fair way—out of the general treasury.

When Americans counsel nations whose debt burdens seem almost too heavy to be met, the advice is usually pretty standard—and pretty sensible. Cut spending, pull in your horns, sacrifice instant gratification for future productivity, and export all you can to meet your obligations and earn investment capital. Well, America, for the first time since before World War I, has joined the ranks of debtor nations. But our leaders don't even give us the same advice they give others, let alone heed it. And that, we think, is another prime example of how we may have shot ourselves in the foot.

Next: How to stimulate investment and growth.

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THE WEEK

☐ The Sterns got Baby M. Now back to ABM.

☐ So close: New Hampshire is debating a measure to add a "none of the above" line to its presidential-primary ballot. And yet so far: If "none of the above" wins, they'll give the nomination to someone anyway.

☐ Senator David Durenberger, the Minnesota Republican, recently told two Jewish groups in Florida that the Pollard case was the result of prior U.S. spying on Israel. As former head of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Durenberger may have been disclosing sensitive information for personal advantage, to the detriment of the American national interest. Pollard is spending the rest of his life in the slammer for that sort of thing.

☐ GRATEFULLY NOTED DEPT.: Dan Rather may feel obliged to pay lip service to social justice and all that, but it's nice to see that when the chips are down, as during the current writers' strike at the networks, the tycoon anchor man will cross the picket line.

☐ The tidal wave of indictments in the news may, as it gathers force, have a political effect it is now too early to measure. We have had the Wall Street insider-trading indictments, with Ivan Boesky the star; the indictment of former Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan; the suicide and indictments in the New York Democratic Party; the indictment of Bess Myerson's boyfriend, because of which she resigned from the Koch administration; the indictment of Michael Deaver for perjury, with influence-peddling in the background; the indictment of former Treasury Secretary Robert Anderson on tax fraud and other charges; the charges of tax fraud against TV moguls Norman Lear and Laurence Tisch . . . On it goes. The pervasive sense of greed-out-of-control could well issue in political backlash, a puritanical disgust with the way things are, and perhaps a leftward swing.

☐ It transpires that the sainted Justice Felix Frankfurter wasn't above putting a sly finger on the scales of justice. The *Harvard Law Review* reports that Frankfurter had secret and unethical contacts with a lawyer in the historic case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, Philip Elman. Frankfurter confided to Elman the personal views of other Supreme Court Justices, in a successful attempt to engineer a unanimous ruling against legal segregation. Now it can be told. There's no such thing as posthumous impeachment.

☐ The Democrats say the President vetoed the $88-billion highway bill just to grab a few headlines and divert attention from Iran. What we are seeing is a Rorschach test in congressional economics: Where else would you find 535 people who regard $88 billion as a reasonable price for a headline? Actually, the approach has its merits. A headline here, a headline there, and pretty soon you're talking balanced budget. Surely eliminating the DOE (both) could pull Fawn Hall's comely form off the news pages for a day.

☐ Conrail's back on track, and so is President Reagan's privatization initiative. The government raked in $1.65 billion from the sale of the once-troubled railroad. That represents the largest stock offering in U.S. history. The success of the offering, after several bungled attempts to sell Conrail privately, proves that *how* the government tries to privatize is as important as what it privatizes. When the government tries to sell an asset to a private corporation, suspicion inevitably arises that the sale is just a disguised subsidy for big business. But when an asset is sold to the public, everyone's happy: The government makes money, the public stands a chance to make

The Vortex Beckons

Like Sisyphus, or maybe more
  Like King Canute, we try
To pick the dollar off the floor
  As traders pass it by;
Though Mr. Volcker scolds, "Enough!"
  The sinking spells grow worse,
While finance figures slyly stuff
  Yen in a country's purse.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

REAGAN IS BACK. At his press conference, the President flawlessly negotiated a minefield. At the legendary Gridiron dinner—that acid test of podium composure and skill—Mr. Reagan was his old magical self. There's no question that the mood at the White House has shifted. The repopulation of the staff, the assertion of presidential authority in the semiconductor ultimatum to the Japanese and the veto of the highway bill, Reagan's road appearances, Gorbachev's INF proposal with a highly probable Summit sequel —all are paying off with the Washington crowd. If it weren't for the Damocles sword of upcoming Iran inquiries suspended over the White House, you'd have to say that what we are seeing now is a new ballgame.

With the designation of conservatives Ken Cribb and Heritage President Ed Feulner as the President's domestic-affairs advisor and consultant respectively, Chief of Staff Howard Baker has soothed numerous Washington conservatives, showing no little mastery at political pacification. "It shows an effort to have liaison with conservatives," says Howard Phillips. "Baker's doing everything he can to limit criticism, and it'll probably assuage less substantive observers. Unfortunately, too many people here are satisfied with a pat on the head or an invitation to a party. It's not costing Baker anything, and they're eating it up."

The real test of how far Baker will go to calm the Right is yet to come. "We haven't gotten to a policy crunch yet. When it comes to something like, say, Star Wars deployment, will Baker push a hard line?" asks a conservative White House watcher. Whatever happens in the long run, the Baker moderates who thought they were in for a cushy time with their Howard at the helm will now have to contend with a conservative presence, howsoever contained.

After media-hyped weeks spent studying the genesis of the 1972 ABM Treaty, Senator Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) concluded that the Administration's broad interpretation (allowing the deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative) was impermissible.

The Administration lately unearthed a file cache, however, stored at the Federal Record Center that further substantiates the argument for the broad interpretation. When asked whether the new papers would shoot down Nunn's case, Defense Department analyst Lieutenant Colonel Don Brownlee flatly stated that there was "never any doubt that the broad interpretation is fully justified, and we know all about what Sam Nunn is saying."

The big question is: Why is Nunn so exercised by this broad-*v.*-narrow debate? It isn't hard to guess that the conservative Democrat (career ADA rating 29) may be trying, with an eye on the White House, to appease the liberals in his party through a traditional Democratic position, one that fits his lawyerly persona. What's more, the strategy is working, even though State Department legal advisor Abraham Sofaer may well defeat Nunn in argument when Sofaer speaks definitively to the issue on April 30.

Apparently bored with life as a librarian and author, Jimmy Carter stepped back into the political limelight in mid March as self-appointed Mideast negotiator and Reagan basher. Carter's criticism of Reagan's Mideast policy (nonexistent, says Jimmy) won't wound the Administration or the Republican Party. Instead, it is Democrats who are cringing at the former President's latest attention-seeking ploy. "Every time Carter opens his mouth, it's a minus for the Democrats," says columnist Morton Kondracke. "He's reminding Democrats how awful it was when he was President, and forcing them to face a question they'd rather forget: How could the Democrats have nominated Jimmy Carter?"

"He's already brought himself down," says a fretful Hart supporter. "Let's hope he quits before he brings the party down."

Now that former Secretary of State Alexander Haig has announced his 1988 intentions, poll watchers here are trying to assess the impact of his candidacy on the GOP lineup. The good news (for the other candidates) is twofold. First, Haig is not expected to amass much support. With little money, few high-level supporters (like state party chairmen), and less organization, the general's popularity rating is an ominously negative 1 to 3. Nevertheless, Haig pulls in a solid 8 per cent in preference polls, and when he drops out (on Super Tuesday at the latest, according to politicos here) those supporters will have to go somewhere. The second piece of good news for other aspirants is that no single candidate is in line for those percentage points. "Haig's supporters will go first to the undecided ranks," predicts Linda Dival, a GOP pollster for *American Viewpoint*. "His business associates and military supporters are a less peggable constituency than most groups."

—CATO

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money, and with luck Conrail will be making money as well.

□ *NR* reported ("For the Record," Feb. 13) that, according to a poll of Republican presidential hopefuls conducted by Greg Fossedal and the Copley News Service, George Bush, alone among the active candidates, was against SDI deployment. Is Bush's opinion really as bad as that? Copley and Fossedal asked, "Do you pledge to support deployment of a shield against nuclear weapons?" A letter from the Vice President answered: ". . . a yes or no response to this important question is not adequate. . . . Should our research produce a reliable defense system and if we are certain that it will improve security and stability, then we will consider deployment options and appropriate arms-control requirements. This has been the Administration position on this issue, and I fully support it." Now that is probably a form of the Administration position—the form you give to the First Secretary, and the negotiating gnomes in Geneva, and the authors of State Depart-

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ment press releases. It is appropriate for a Vice President, in some of his roles, to use such limp idioms. But George Bush is also running for President. That means communicating your intentions. What does Bush *want* for SDI? Dole, Kemp, Robertson, et al. seem to know. So, we would bet, does Bush. But there are apparently wordsmiths on his staff who don't. If Bush wants to move to the Oval Office, he has to clear some throats.

☐ John Paul II, in declaring a "Marian year" to run from this June till August 1988, referred to the Virgin Mary as "our common mother" and hoped the event would encourage Christian unity. In America, where the Christian polarities are overwhelmingly Protestant-Catholic, such a statement seems odd. But this pope, as he has done so often, was looking east. Anyone who has seen the huge, regal image of the Virgin that remains on the wall of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul—anyone who has been to a neighborhood parish in Chicago—knows the esteem in which the Orthodox hold Jesus' mother. No one expects a quick *rapprochement*. To "the Orthodox Churches of the East," wrote Evelyn Waugh, "the sack and occupation of Constantinople for the first half of the thirteenth century is as lively and bitter a memory as is Hitler's persecution to the Jews." Miracles are possible; it is presumptuous to expect them. John Paul II is clearly doing his best to be ready for one.

☐ Colonel Qaddafi's dream of empire looked as dead as Mussolini's last week when Chadian soldiers swept his troops out of the Faya-Largeau airbase and sent his garrison at Wadi Doum into pell-mell flight. As this was unrolling, Qaddafi called in foreign journalists to announce his country's subscription to the Warsaw Pact and suggested that he would accept Soviet missiles on Libyan soil. This last came as quite a shock to Mikhail Gorbachev, who is engaged in a delicate game of missile roulette and needs no loose cannon on his team. Gorbachev dismissed Qaddafi's statements as nonsense, leaving Qaddafi without even that face-saving bit of bravado. The last time Qaddafi sent his legions abroad they also failed in their mission—to secure Idi Amin on his throne.

☐ As the U.S. enters the much-heralded "information age," it's not who you know but how many directories you have that counts. Need an expert? The Heritage Foundation (214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002) comes to the rescue with the 1987 edition of the *Annual Guide to Public Policy Experts*. Want to know the inside story about what's happening in China? Grab a copy of *Inside China Mainland*, published by the Institute of Current China Studies (P.O. Box 14-19, Taipei, Taiwan). Care to bet on the 1987 governors' races? Ask the Republican Governors' Association (310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003) for its handy guide to potential candidates. Uncertain of your rights? Consult the Justice Department's just-published study of the development of the *Miranda* ruling, *Report to the Attorney General on the Law of Pre-Trial Interrogation* (Office of Legal Policy, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530). Just a few items you won't find at your local bookstore.

☐ Three out of four taxpayers will get a federal refund, which will make them happy, but not half so happy as the federal tax-takers, who contrived, oh, a $100-billion loan from said taxpayers, interest free, by over-withholding their taxes.

☐ Stuffed-animal-rights activists are distraught about the marketing of KickDog. Evidently, they reason that kicking a sturdy fabric toy causes it severe pain. Or maybe they sense a fraudulent capitalist scheme to keep people from experiencing the genuine satisfaction of kicking coon hounds. Sometimes we don't follow the higher realms of intellection.

☐ We dibbies the marketing rights for KickPol and KickActivist, neither of which could conceivably be objected to, in this world or the next.

☐ Senator Biden walked into a dressing room for swimsuit models, not all of whom were in their swimsuits. *He* says he was looking for a political lunch, that he only stayed a very brief time, and that it was all a mistake. *They* said he was kinda cute.

☐ And who, in the World Figure Skating Championships, won the compulsory routines? Who always wins the compulsories? Who has led the world in compulsories since 1917? Right, the Soviets.

☐ Starting way back—in the evangelical movement and the Reagan Administration—Jessica Hahn and Fawn Hall are making it big with juicy offers from *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Will they bare all before North and Poindexter do?

Outside, Looking In

BY THE TIME this issue hits the stands, five people —Democrats Bruce Babbitt and Richard Gephardt; Republicans Pierre du Pont, Alexander Haig, and Jack Kemp—will have announced their presidential candidacies. Gary Hart is scheduled to launch on April 13, Michael Dukakis on May 4.

We will hear much—much too much—about many of these hopefuls for the next year and a half. Of a few, we may hear blessedly little. When asked who supported him, Haig answered, "I have a very sub-

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stantial constituency—that's the American people." In other words, nobody yet. But, apart from details and personalities, there is one striking political fact. All of the current and likely Republicans are struggling, as in a giant game of king of the mountain, for possession of the party's ideological base. Most of the Democrats are avoiding it.

Dukakis bills himself as the savior of Massachusetts business. Gephardt, Kemp-like, put his name to a tax-cut bill. Babbitt, says one newspaper summary, "challeng[es] party orthodoxies." Hart, of course, is an old hand at new ideas. They all saw what happened to Walter Mondale, didn't they? Yes, and they've turned over a bookful of new leaves.

It is mostly for show. Hart's ADA voting record is sterling; Gephardt's latest buzz is protectionism; Dukakis's economic reputation can't survive one reading of Warren Brookes. As caucuses and primaries come on, and party regulars must be wooed, the requirements of the show will change.

But Democratic evasiveness, and Republican consensus, say something politically important. Conventional wisdom places the major parties equidistant from a hypothetical "center." Pols follow one set of rules in pursuit of the nomination, but once the winners are picked, the two sides move toward each other in an effort to claim the vital midpoint.

But there is no stable center in American politics. The mass of voters shifts, and so do the parties. At certain historical periods, a party may "occupy" the center of political gravity. The language it speaks to itself is what most Americans want to hear. When its nomination process is finished, it doesn't have to move at all. The other party, by contrast, is so far out of the mainstream it can't move enough. When its leaders are true to themselves, they strike the average American as puzzling, or disgusting. When they try to change, they seem merely insincere.

The Democrats hope and believe they have emerged at last from their long season of remoteness. The skewed postures of their would-be candidates suggest the exile isn't over.

Thou Shalt Not Smirk

THE MAJOR NEWS media think evangelicals are funny, when they aren't downright dangerous, and they are especially comical when they get to brawling about peccadillos like adultery.

Yes, some of the TV evangelists are so glitzy and vulgar that it's hard to imagine them offering spiritual sustenance to anyone except maybe lonely souls who live in trailer parks and get their news from the *National Enquirer*. Jim Bakker, who looks puffy and prepubescent, hardly seems capable of sins of the flesh, except those involving baby fat. Jimmy Swaggart, the hard-eyed, writhing, roaring Mick Jagger of the set (he is Jerry Lee Lewis's cousin) seems straight out of Flannery O'Connor. They make Jerry Falwell look by comparison like the Archbishop of Canterbury.

What immediately strikes the outsider who encounters the TV preachers through the present controversy is the huge amount of money at stake: hundreds of millions of dollars. But this fact, however salient to the secular eye, is not the center of the dispute. Sin is. These people take it seriously.

It has been said that sex feels so good in order to compensate for its looking so preposterous. Moral fervor too looks ridiculous to those who don't participate in it. Not the least vulgar aspect of this affair has been the catcalls it has drawn from the sidelines, from people who are usually prepared to excuse any excess, provided it's committed in the name of, say, "building a new society." They could forgive Bakker his adultery, but not his treasury.

Chesterton observed that journalism tells us that Admiral Bangs has died without having first informed us that Admiral Bangs was ever born. It takes something like the Bakker scandal to get the media to pay any attention to a huge body of Americans, the evangelical Protestants, whose constant piety and virtue are among the nation's sustaining forces. These people don't riot, rape, and pillage very much, nor do they seem to spawn the avant-garde forms of venereal disease. The nation owes more than it acknowledges to people among whom adultery is still shocking.

The Admiral Cometh

Dismasted like a wreck at sea,
But buttressed by immunity,
He comes to tell we know not what
Of derring-do and flying shot,
Though sailors say he has the look
Of mates who did in Captain Hook.

W. H. VON DREELE

Tribal Justice

"I said there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid."

—Gulliver's Travels

SWIFT'S FAMOUS description of lawyers comes to mind as one reads Justice William Brennan's tortuous majority opinion upholding the legality of a Santa Clara, California, affirmative-action plan. To be sure, there is something to be said for affirmative ac-

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tion, and it should be permitted as a voluntary matter in private institutions. The technical problem is that it's against the law.

If, that is, the law means anything. In the case at hand, Santa Clara County hired a woman in preference to a man who had scored slightly higher on the oral employment test they both took. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act plainly forbids an employer to "limit, segregate, or *classify* his employees or applicants . . . in any way which would deprive or *tend* to deprive *any individual* of employment opportunities . . . because of such individual's race, color, religion, *sex*, or national origin." (Emphases added.) Only a lawyer could find anything equivocal in that.

Brennan's opinion was framed in terms of "objectives" and "goals," which for him evidently override the mere letter of the law. Taking race and sex "into account," he noted, is "consistent with Title VII's objective of 'breaking down old barriers' " of racial and sexual discrimination. That was indeed, from one angle, the concrete objective of the law. But this does not mean that the actual wording of the law may be set aside, any more than the Constitution's goal of "establish[ing] justice" entitles a judge to strike down as unconstitutional any law he may deem unjust.

From another angle, the "objective" of Title VII was to protect the *individual* from discrimination. It identified the protection of the individual as such with social justice. But the Court has now endorsed political tribalism in the name of social justice, at the expense of justice to individuals.

There being no National Association for the Protection of White Males, white males will bear the brunt of this discrimination, with the Court's blessing. As Justice Antonin Scalia said in his dissent: "The irony is that these individuals—predominantly unknown, unaffluent, unorganized—suffer this injustice at the hands of a Court fond of thinking itself the champion of the politically impotent." Just so. Social justice will be reserved for those with tribal affiliations and accredited victim status, proving once more that under the liberal regime, you have to have a lot of clout to be a victim. Being an individual isn't enough.

The Marine Traitors

THE WHOLE THING boggles the mind. The U.S. Embassy in Moscow contains millions of dollars' worth of security equipment, including a bug-proof "bubble" suspended inside a room, and a "vault" constructed of heavy steel for the use of the CIA. The embassy is loaded with super-sensitive material, and the Soviets have invested millions of dollars in electronic equipment in order to gain access to it. Yet the security of all this during off-hours was entrusted to two Marine enlisted men who were boneheaded enough to have sexual liaisons with two Soviet employees whom anyone would assume were KGB agents. The price for the sexual romps was free access to the embassy during off-hours for KGB intelligence experts.

The Marine guards at our embassies certainly are ornamental in their dress uniforms. With their red-striped trousers and white hats and gloves they are an aesthetic treat when you see them in a foreign capital, and not least because they are a throwback to another era, rather like the red-coated guards outside Buckingham Palace, with their tall black fur hats. But let's be serious. This is the twentieth century. The Moscow Embassy should have been guarded around the clock by mature, professional counter-intelligence squads, not by a couple of skirt-chasing enlisted men with room-temperature IQs.

The indications are that the identities of our covert intelligence contacts have been compromised, and that Gorbachev was well briefed beforehand on our negotiating plans in Iceland. It seems likely that the Geneva talks have been compromised as well. We have to assume that the entire embassy has now been thoroughly bugged in a sophisticated way, including the bubble and the vault.

At least Jonathan Pollard spied for Israel, an ally. He deservedly received a life sentence. Lonetree and Bracy were traitors for the Soviets, a much more serious offense. A more severe sentence than Pollard's suggests itself.

The Ecology of Suicide

SO FAR NOBODY has proposed the condom as the answer to teen suicide, but otherwise the latest national "crisis" has followed the usual scenario: bizarre local incidents, massive publicity, statistic-laden experts, concerned editorials, and legislators climbing over one another to fund new state and federal programs.

The current wave of concern springs from the suicide pact of four New Jersey kids who asphyxiated themselves in a garage. Two Illinois girls followed suit.

One obvious objection to teen suicide is that it increases the danger of government spending. A closely related danger is that such spending will be accepted, however passively, as—well, not a solution, since nobody really believes one more program will put a dent in the phenomenon, but as the moral equivalent of a solution, a gesture through which we can pretend we've done something serious about the problem.

Some of the experts have said sensible things. One observes that "news coverage of suicides contributes to the contagion." Another adds: "The effect of highly publicized stories about teen suicides is a significant increase in successful suicides and suicide attempts

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among young people." Publicity breeds imitation. That's one reason these things used to be kept out of the papers, in a less enlightened age.

Others suggest that teenagers see death in romantic terms, as conferring "instant martyrdom," solving their personal problems, and causing remorse among those who didn't "understand" them in life. Nobody wants to censure the dead, but there is also an important component of hostility in the act of self-murder.

Why do they do it? A better question may be, Why not? Suicide—cf. *Hamlet*—is a perennial human temptation, and old inhibitions and deterrents have been greatly relaxed lately. The existence of an afterlife has ceased to be a legal or cultural presumption; suicide is often advanced as a "right," along with many other practices that used to be taboo. The individual is no longer conceived of as a responsible part of a larger communal tissue; his goal is his own happiness, or, failing that, his own way of fleeing misery.

Teen suicide probably can't be understood as a discrete problem. More likely, it's one of many expressions of a moral outlook the contemporary world initiates us into early and reinforces constantly, even when suicide isn't under discussion. When the premise is assumed, we shouldn't be surprised by the conclusions and corollaries.

Twin Deficits and the G-7

ONLY POLITICS can explain how the idea that budget deficits cause trade deficits has survived. The notion was that only a smaller budget deficit could make the dollar fall, and that the resulting cheaper dollar would somehow make Americans rich by allowing them to sell cheap and buy dear. Yet the dollar has fallen quite a lot since February 1985, without any decline in the budget deficit. The obvious political allure of the "twin deficits" theory nonetheless keeps it alive. If voters could be persuaded that trade deficits are a consequence of budget deficits, perhaps they might even be persuaded that a big tax increase or tariff would make the economy stronger—by solving both budget and trade deficits at once.

Some of those who used to claim the budget deficit was what made the dollar rise, notably Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, are now properly concerned that the dollar may fall too far. Harvard's Martin Feldstein, who has also long urged a smaller budget deficit to sink the dollar, likewise warned in the *Washington Post* that too sharp a drop in the dollar might "trigger an economic downturn" (by fostering inflation and higher interest rates). Yet if budget deficits really made the dollar rise, then the dollar could not possibly go into free fall unless the budget was in grave danger of swinging into surplus. To get the dollar up, on this line of reasoning, Messrs. Volcker and Feldstein would be compelled to propose a *larger* budget deficit. Fed Chairmen and Harvard economists are not required to be *that* consistent.

The world's finance ministers and central bankers recently met in Paris, agreeing that the dollar had fallen quite enough. Not one of them suggested a larger U.S. budget deficit to strengthen the dollar. Instead they noticed that the relative value of German money in terms of U.S. money has a lot to do with monetary policy. Countries with falling prices, like Germany and Japan, can (and did) cut interest rates. If necessary, the Federal Reserve could tighten money. This does not even require "intervention," which means having central bankers buy and sell one another's currencies. And it certainly does not require the bugbear of "coordinating fiscal policies," since economists can't decide whether budget deficits make a currency stronger or weaker.

Karen Pennar of *Business Week* suggests the Paris meeting was "little more than talk" because the U.S. is not "ready to bring on a recession for the sake of exchange-rate stability." The purpose of monetary cooperation is not to bring on a recession in the U.S., but to stop incipient recessions in Japan and Continental Europe. A persistent drop in the dollar is likely to be deflationary in Europe and Japan, or inflationary in the United States. Neither of those alternatives is good for either the U.S. or the world. Interest rates in the U.S. have also been higher than in Japan and Europe to compensate foreign investors

mac
GREENHAM WOMEN SAY NO NUKES
NO NUKES
BAN THE BOMB!
SAY NO TO CRUISE
YANKS GO H
AND TAKE CRUISE WITH YOU!
JOBS NOT BOMBS
CRUISE MISSILES MAY BE SENT BACK TO U.S.A.
Mac, London Daily Mail / Rothco

"Men! Now what are we going to do?"

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for the risk that the dollar may fall, so the U.S. stands to benefit as well. If the Paris accord was just talk, why have speculators suddenly become so wary of betting against the dollar?

Sanctions Update

SANCTIONS—you remember them. No? Well here is a refresher.

What economic effect have American sanctions had on South Africa? For the last few years, the South African economy has been growing at a sluggish 1 per cent a year. In the short run, sanctions should boost this to 3 per cent, as South African businessmen buy American assets. The economy needs a growth rate of 5 per cent, however, just to hold unemployment constant. "Unemployment," of course, means black unemployment; in some parts of the country, such as the Eastern Cape, it is running at 50 per cent.

What political effect have they had? The Nationalist Party expects defections to its right and to its left. Liberal opinion has been focusing exclusively on the latter—the so-called "New Nats." No serious analyst expects them to make significant inroads in the upcoming May election. Nationalist dominance is secure.

What will the Nationalists do with their mandate? For now, not much. Reform is on the back burner, behind order.

How long, conceivably, can it stay there? South Africa's whites hold enough power to stay in place, unchanging, for twenty years.

Will they? Probably not—but no thanks to us.

Brandt Steps Down

AS WEST GERMANY goes, so goes Europe. The abrupt resignation of Willy Brandt as chairman of West Germany's Social Democratic Party (SPD) thus bodes well for the future of the continent. The architect of Ostpolitik had led and misled the Social Democrats for 23 years, doing considerable damage to West German foreign policy in the process. In recent years the aging and increasingly erratic Brandt had shepherded the SPD straight into the political wilderness, evidently determined to make his party as irrelevant and out of touch with reality as the British Labour Party.

Brandt's enduring legacy to West Germany is his Ostpolitik, the practical result of which has been to give Bonn the most schizophrenic, hesitant, and contradictory foreign policy of any major Western power. Even the Christian Democrats have not been able fully to shake off this legacy and return to the solid foreign-policy foundation laid down by Konrad Adenauer, who knew that West Germany's security lay in unswerving alliance with the West, not concessions to the East. The tension between Adenauer's and Brandt's Weltanschauungen continues to bedevil West German politics to this day. Fortunately, Brandt's resignation increases the likelihood that Adenauer will prevail.

This is true even in the SPD, where the vacuum left by Brandt's resignation is likely to be filled by a Gang of Four consisting of Johannes Rau (the SPD's recent challenger to Helmut Kohl), Oskar Lafontaine (premier of the Saarland), Anke Fuchs (party manager), and Hans-Jochen Vogel (former candidate for chancellor and erstwhile mayor of both Berlin and Munich). Vogel is favored to be Brandt's formal successor.

The good news is that three of the four are moderates, at least by Social Democratic standards (granted, that puts them to the left of Ted Kennedy by American standards). The bad news is that Lafontaine, the darling of West Germany's New Left, could yet emerge as the SPD's next candidate for chancellor. That would raise the specter of a "Red-Green" coalition, a parliamentary alliance between the SPD and West Germany's radical youth party, the Greens. Such a coalition would be disastrous for the Federal Republic, the North Atlantic Alliance, and the security of the Western world. Long live Helmut Kohl. For that matter, long live Konrad Adenauer.

Chip Wars

UNLESS JAPAN promises to charge Americans more for semiconductors ("chips"), the U.S. Government promises to charge Americans more for other Japanese goods. Either way, Americans pay more. The idea is to slap tariffs on Japanese calculators and computers because Japan has been unable to enforce a cartel deal with the U.S. to prop up chip prices. The U.S. thus hopes to protect its fragile little semiconductor producers, such as IBM, AT&T, and Texas Instruments. [See also "Don't Let the Grinch Steal Christmas," p. 40.]

The official argument is that selective tariffs on Japanese goods won't raise prices for Americans, because we can buy similar goods from Korea, Taiwan —or ourselves, for that matter. But reduced competition always raises prices, raising the cost of living and producing. Japanese companies are already trying

Mrs. Smeal Wins Big

Please don't accost me now with how
Supreme Court judges won't allow
The liberals to win a case,
With all that egg on Meese's face.

W. H. VON DREELE

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to get around our rising tariff wall by building more factories in the U.S., but the ironic effect of their shipping the required machinery to the U.S. is to widen the trade deficit.

It is not that Japan would not enjoy higher chip prices, if the world market could bear it. *Barron's* notes that "major Japanese semiconductor makers have lost as much if not more money than their American competitors." Even if anyone really could figure out whether chip prices are "below cost," prices sometimes do have to fall below cost when the world market is weaker than expected. That is no less true of chips than it is of corn. If prices always covered costs, nobody would ever lose money.

Like all cartels, last year's U.S.-Japan agreement to keep chip prices up soon developed leaks. There have been "grey market" shipments of Japanese chips to other Asian countries, which can then underprice both the U.S. and Japan on electronic equipment. We save a few companies that produce unprofitable chips and lose producers of valuable computers and high-tech graphics equipment. The artificial umbrella of U.S. cartel prices on chips is beginning to entice new chip producers who couldn't otherwise compete, like Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, India, and China.

Actually, this whole problem is mostly "Made in U.S.A." We bullied the Japanese into a deflationary rise of the yen, which pushed their producer prices down by 9 per cent last year. Japan's exports fell 16 per cent, imports fell even more, and industrial production dropped for the first time in 11 years. Manufacturing profits have collapsed, down about 50 per cent in two years. Growth of Japan's real GNP was less than 1 per cent in the fourth quarter, despite the artificial prop of added government spending. Industries that would otherwise have used Japanese chips instead had to cut back production, leaving a surplus of chips that could only be exported or discarded. If a cartel of only two countries ever had any chance of working, it certainly cannot work now, with U.S. tariffs forcing even deeper production cuts by the Japanese industries that buy chips. "Getting tough" with the Japanese can only weaken their already depressed economy, aggravating world surpluses of chips, grain, oil, and many other goods.

So Long, Cory

THERE WAS THE picture on the front pages: Cory Aquino at the Philippine Military Academy in Baguio. With her, a graduating cadet, in a dress uniform out of West Point's past (you know, Douglas MacArthur, and all that). Her message in the accompanying stories: "I want a string of honorable military victories."

The lady's patience with the Communist terrorists who have been wracking her country—115 soldiers and 31 civilians killed since February—is finally exhausted. We will bet, if there are any takers, that her honeymoon with the American press will be, simultaneously and not uncoincidentally, exhausted as well. It won't start all at once. "Now she'll need to show . . . toughness and resolve," said the *New York Times*, approvingly. But *Time* was already in the swing. ". . . snapped the olive branch of peace . . . pressure from her generals and Washington . . . private armies often shoot first and ask questions later . . . risks alienating some of her most ardent supporters . . ."

We could add variations on the theme, but we won't have to. The press, ever ready to see in Marxist insurgencies the wave of the future and in their opponents the forces or dupes of reaction, will do it themselves. Watch for it about Memorial Day.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ To the Editor of *Esquire*:

For your information, from John Gregory Dunne, *Esquire*, February 1987:

> . . . Mr. Buckley makes a habit of that sort of reply . . . I was less infatuated with his *Overdrive* than he thought I should be, and he responded to *The New York Review of Books* (where my piece appeared) with a letter . . . [He] finally delivered the kayo punch: "Dunne begins his review by reporting that he and I have had a 'fitful' correspondence over the years. But you see, those notes, while perhaps addressed to the couple, were really directed to his wife, who, of the two, was my friend."

From WFB's answer to Dunne in *The New York Review of Books*, November 10, 1983 (the material italicized is omitted by Dunne's reprise in *Esquire*):

> Dunne begins his review by reporting that he and I have had a "fitful" correspondence over the years *and that during the 1960s I would end my epistles, "Pots of love."* But you see, those notes, while perhaps addressed to the couple, were really directed to his wife, who, of the two, was my friend, *and signed off her infrequent notes to me, "Love."*

We await eagerly further installments in Mr. Dunne's manual on how writers should behave.

Yours truly,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Recent Soviet attempts at liberalization have been for most Americans quite encouraging, your own cynical tendencies notwithstanding. I think I speak for most Americans when I say that these efforts are sincere and should be encouraged. To that end, I have devised the following schedule of incentives in re-

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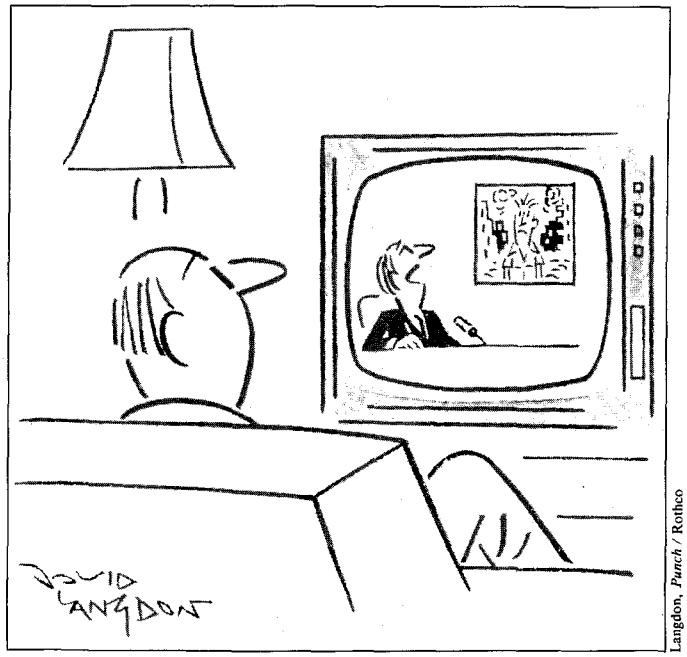

Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

"Briefly, in the few seconds left, can you give a breakdown of all the warring factions in Lebanon and what their individual aims are?"

sponse to specific Soviet initiatives to promote human rights within the Soviet Union:

Rooting out Party corruption	Cancel first phase of SDI deployment
Glasnost	Limit SDI to the lab through 1999
Secret-ballot one-party elections	Narrow interpretation of ABM Treaty
Releasing 1 to 49 political prisoners	Overlook Soviet ABM violations
Releasing 50 to 99 political prisoners	Cancel SDI
Releasing 100 to 199 political prisoners	Unilateral disarmament

Surely this is a reasonable response to their initiatives, regardless of whatever it is that the road to Hell is paved with. Any suggestions before we run this one up to George and the negotiating crowd?

Sincerely,
Peter R. Smith
Houston, Tex.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Let's not get too down on the "recent girl graduate of Yale (econ.)" who asked, "What are the Ten Commandments? I've never heard of them" ["Notes & Asides," March 13].

A few years back I was touring our local art museum while a museum staffer was instructing another middle-class matron on how to conduct tours of the museum. They stopped in front of an etching by Jacques Callot, *The Israelites Crossing the Red Sea.*

"What's that?" asked the novice.

The museum staffer stared at the etching, read the title, and said, "I don't know. It has something to do with the Jews."

Know what I mean?

Don Schenk
Allentown, Pa.

Dear Mr. Schenk: Yes. But I wish I didn't. Cordially,
WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your most interesting comments on Martin Luther King [Feb. 27] recounted well-known happenings and should of course be said more often.

You did state, however, "I wrote in favor of a national holiday in his honor."

Why?

Sincerely,
Walker W. Means
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Means: For the reasons I gave. Primarily, that the black community desired a black resident in the official pantheon more than we should have desired to maintain the pantheon's standards. That, combined with the indisputable place Mr. King holds as the black leader of the civil-rights movement. Cordially,
WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

While reading your son's gripping book, *TWHM* [*The White House Mess*], I was shocked (DC, Direct Consternation) when he told us that "I was nearly electrocuted when I took my phone into the shower."

With a take-about phone not hooked up to the low-voltage lines, it is hard to fathom why he thought he could be "phased" by that portable instrument.

Did he fail Electric Shop in high school?

Yours,
Auburn J. Lamb
Silver Spring, Md.

Dear Mr. Lamb: Have you never heard of an iridologist? That's the kind of situation they look after. Cordially,
WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

How could you make MIRV into a verb?

Yours truly,
Arthur M. Seigel, MD
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Seigel: Making a verb out of a noun is sanctified practice in English. It is the reverse that hurts. Thus to MIRV a missile begs acceptance, while to author a book begs rejection. . . . Rx b.i.d., after meals, until symptoms diminish. Cordially, **—WFB**

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If *you* are a Bill Buckley fan who has asked: How can I get a copy of Buckley's *Up from Liberalism*? —here's your opportunity to finally get this famous book absolutely *FREE and postpaid*!

That's right: a new 25th anniversary hardcover edition of Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s 1959 classic *Up from Liberalism* has been released—with a brand-new introduction by the author—and it's selling in bookstores now for $16.95 (book prices are incredible these days). But if you take advantage of this special offer, you can get your own copy *FREE and postpaid*.

For many years now, readers have been begging us to find them copies of this famous book; many had every *other* Buckley book and wanted to complete their collection; others had heard about it and wanted their own copy. Alas, there was nothing we could do—*Up from Liberalism* was just plain out of print. Now it's back, in a handsome new edition.

And what a treasure house it is! From the original Foreword by the late, great John Dos Passos, right through to the final page (where you get Buckley's so-often-quoted "program" for keeping America free), you find a wealth of ideas and arguments that will make it plain *why* this book was such a milestone in the revitalization of conservatism. It's not just a book you'll want for yourself: you'll start thinking of lots of *other* people you will want to read it (not least those *students* you care about).

And right in the middle of this big book (pp. 101-116) you'll discover one of the greatest gems ever: the story of Paul Hughes, the fabulous confidence man who took many of the nation's most prominent (and *pious*) liberals for thousands of dollars by feeding them incredible stories about Senator Joe McCarthy (the story was *spiked* by the "major media," of course, so you'll find it here *only*—and what hilarious reading it makes!).

If you remember all the controversies and personalities of the late '50s, here's the best one-book refresher course you can find anywhere. If you're too young to have lived through it all, there's no better book to illuminate it all for you. In short, *Up from Liberalism* is a book *every* conservative will want to own.

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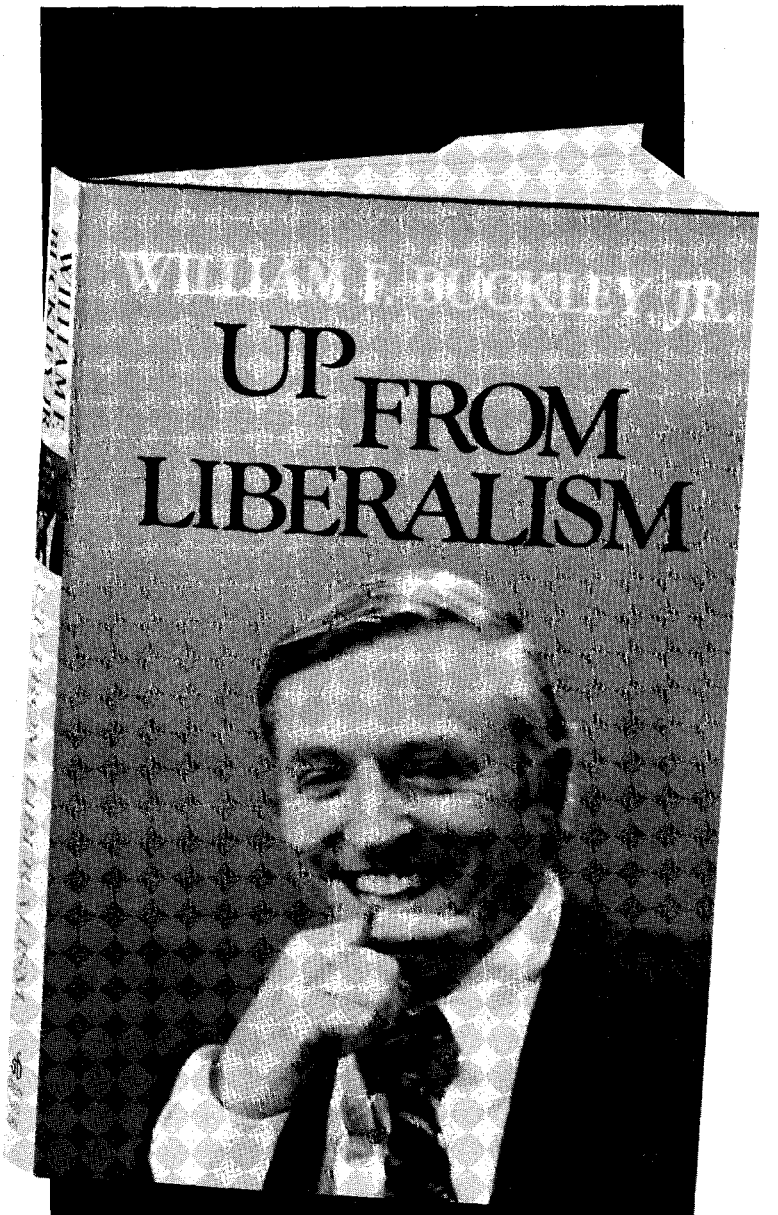

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SUPER TUESDAY, SUPER MISTAKE

On September 8, 1985, a group of present and past Democratic state representatives from the South—the Southern Legislative Conference—met in Miami to formulate strategies to strengthen the Southern voice in the 1988 primaries. The result was "Super Tuesday," i.e., a day (March 8, 1988) on which primaries will be held simultaneously in 14 Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—allotting almost one-third of the national delegates in one fell swoop. The idea, of course, was that these primaries would give an important edge to the South's candidate—ideally, a native Southerner.

Super Tuesday is the biggest change in the U.S. nomination process in more than twenty years. Although Republicans are directly affected too (since the single primary voting day is fixed for both parties by state legislatures), it was a sense of impotence among Southern Democratic state-level politicians that spawned Super Tuesday. Northern liberals were dominating the selection process, the Southerners believed, and, in doing so, were jeopardizing the nomination of a Democratic presidential candidate who could actually be elected.

The main goal of Super Tuesday was to have a candidate address not the specific needs of one state, but the needs of the South *in toto*. "Super Tuesday's goal was to shift the dialogue from state interests to common Southern interests," observes Terry Michael, press officer for the Democratic National Committee. This forced regionalization of the candidate's appeal would keep him from wandering too far left.

Observers of the Super Tuesday artifact, however, question the plan on two counts. First, the schedule. Holding the Southern primaries so close on the heels of New Hampshire (February 16) leaves too little time for failing candidates to alter their strategies, or for media-induced momentum to fall from the front-runners. (In 1980, Ronald Reagan had a month to react to George Bush's Iowa lead and so move ahead in New Hampshire.) The second problem is pile-up. Candidates simply won't have time to cover the twenty states slated to vote March 8. (Six non-Southern states are also scheduled for primaries or caucuses that day.) With less direct exposure to the candidates, voters will look instead to the media as the basis for choice.

"State legislators don't understand presidential dynamics," observes Charlie Cook, an election-newsletter editor here. "By having all the primaries on one day they wanted to enhance the Southern decision. Instead they've enhanced the Iowa/New Hampshire decision." Walter Mondale's deputy campaign manager, Tom Donilon, adds: "It's a classic case of unintended consequences. The lofty goal got the wrong tactic." The crowning irony is that, barring Sam Nunn's entry, the South has no homegrown presidential candidate to back.

Although most pundits here agree that Super Tuesday will probably backfire, there's little consensus about what the upshot will be. A number of possible scenarios have been put forward; among the more interesting are:

Out of Nowhere. Assume that a long-shot candidate—say, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis or Missouri Representative Richard Gephardt—does surprisingly well in both Iowa and New Hampshire and vaults into the South on the covers of *Newsweek* and *Time*. Southern voters duly back him, and the Democrats are stuck with a nominee who probably would not have made it through a more drawn-out process.

Neck and Neck. Assume that two candidates emerge from Iowa/New Hampshire practically tied. The South splits correspondingly, other candidates drop out, and the balance of the race is a bloody battle between number one and number two.

A Brokered Convention. Assume a relatively even splintering of the Iowa/New Hampshire vote among four or five candidates, and also assume that this splintering is mirrored in Super Tuesday's primaries. Probably none of the candidates would then have enough delegates to lock up the nomination. For the first time since 1952, a nominee would not be elected on the first ballot, thus creating a "brokered convention," where the candidates would fight it out on the floor in Atlanta. At that point, a non-contestant like Sam Nunn or Bill Bradley (N.J.) could be drafted and take the nomination.

Jesse's Rainbow. As with scenario three, the vote splits, but this time only among whites. The black vote goes solidly to Jesse Jackson, who emerges with a majority of delegates and playing a much more influential role in the 1988 process, conceivably even winning. All of which might inspire a less liberal white candidate to run as an independent.

The Democratic primary race, as is readily seen, is wide open. It remains possible for a single candidate to sweep Iowa, New Hampshire, and the South, so that the race will be over almost before it's begun. But as things stand now, a long, intriguing, odious battle seems more likely. As for those Southern legislators' vision of a South-picked candidate, four years down the road a Nunn or a Robb or some other centrist Southerner may take the plunge. Then, Super Tuesday's pile-up could become its payoff. For 1988, though, Super Tuesday seems destined to be a Super Mistake. □

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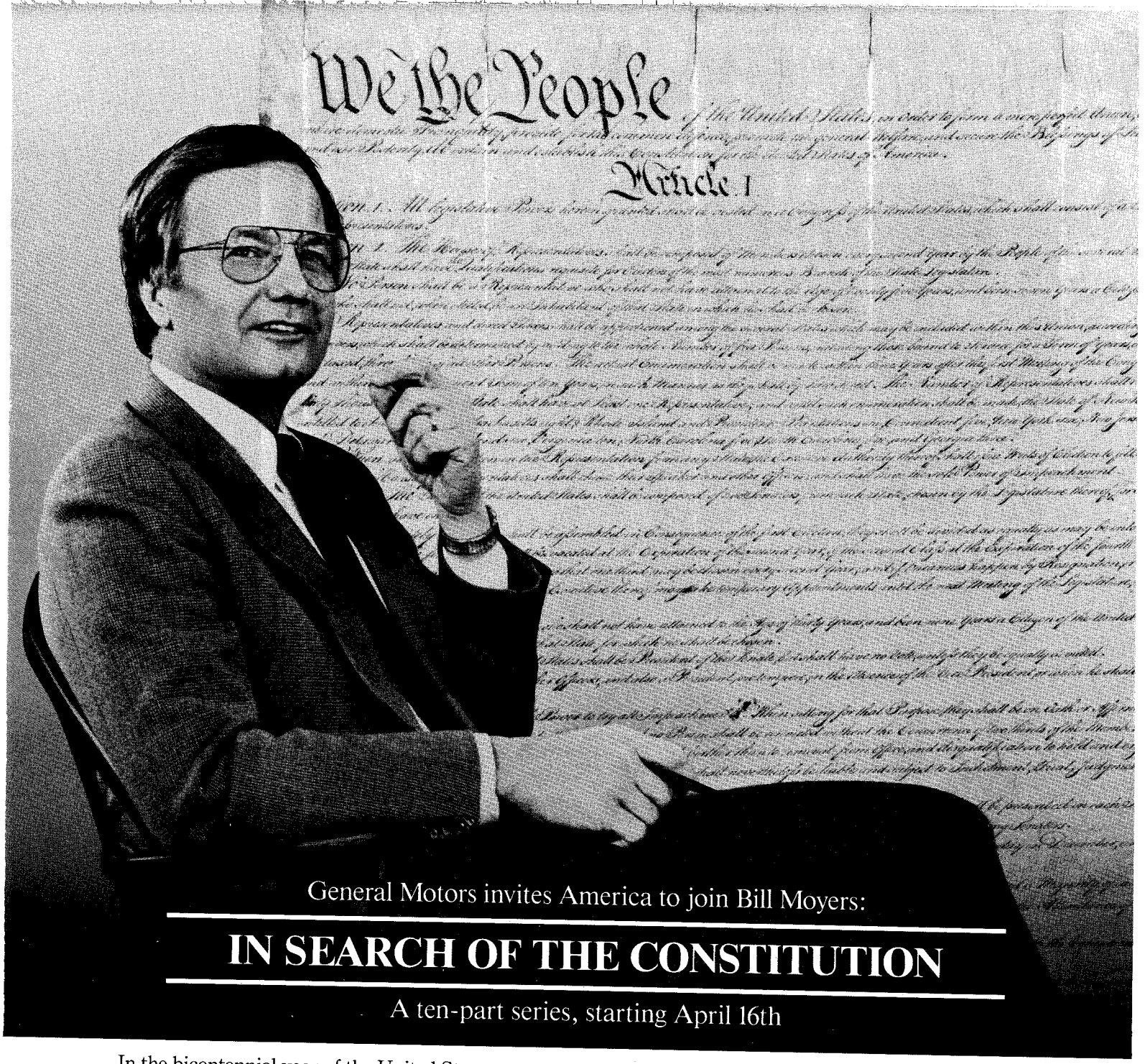

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STAUNCH ALLIES?

QUITE THE greatest advantage the Soviets have over the West is continuity of leadership and policy. With the continuity goes a quite remarkable staunchness toward allies and "assets" (such as spies).

We in the West cannot possibly compete with totalist systems in continuity of leadership, for to do so would contradict one of the fundamentals of our democracies. In principle, however, there is no reason why we should not aim at continuity of policy and staunchness toward friends and allies.

Let me illustrate these propositions with examples. First, one or two exceptions on the Soviet side. The rule is: total dependability of support for Moscow-line Communist parties. Only occasionally will the Soviet ruling CPSU sacrifice a national party for reasons of expediency, as it did with the Communist parties of Algeria and Egypt.

Algeria's minuscule Communist party calls itself the *Parti de l'Avant-Garde Socialiste*, or PAGS, and its membership certainly does not exceed five hundred. It is illegal and therefore clandestine. When the Algerian rebellion broke out in 1954, it was clear to the men in Moscow that the PAGS was going to be a hindrance, not a help. It was equally clear that the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) was in all but name a Communist party, although perhaps inspired by Chinese and Vietnamese models rather than the CPSU. Clear also that should the FLN, applying the principles of people's revolutionary warfare, defeat the French (meaning wear down their political will to press on with the protracted conflict), the resulting regime would be a one-party state committed to "socialism." Not an unconditionally pro-Moscow regime, but usefully anti-Western. So there has never been any question of helping the PAGS to stir up a subversive challenge to the FLN. However, the PAGS does get a consolation prize: Two of its leaders, Sadiq Hadjeres and Ali Malki, are allowed to contribute to the Soviet-edited *World Marxist Review*.

With Egypt, there is a similar story to tell. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, the Communist party in Egypt is small in number and fragmented. It did unite, for a while, in 1958, but Moscow's instructions were clear: cooperate with the ruling Arab Socialist Union. At least that way Egypt's Communists could be freed from jail.

As you see, I am scraping the barrel. In general, the Soviets are loyal to those who help them and take their orders. For 14 or 15 years, they recruited and trained terrorists and guerrillas of the Angolan MPLA, against the day (which duly came, on April 25, 1974) when the overthrow of the post-Salazar regime would give the MPLA its chance to wrest power from the anti-Communist freedom-fighters.

Indochina? Ho Chi Minh was trained in Moscow's University of the Toilers of the East and sent far-eastward to set up his Communist Party. Without Soviet help, the Vietnamese Communists would not have defeated either the French or the Americans. Between 1930, when Ho created the original Communist Party of Indochina, and 1975, when the Vietcong forces moved into Saigon, the simple arithmetic records 45 years of staunchness.

I only wish the Western powers could match this kind of record, or even come within measurable distance of it. We are, on the whole, short-term friends, and it grieves me to say that this applies even more to the U.S. than to Britain.

The U.S. was a year-by-year annual-contract ally of the South Vietnamese. After the Paris Accords of 1973, Congress even voted to deny its erstwhile South Vietnamese friends the weapons and supplies they needed to resist the Communist aggressors. As for Angola, where was the U.S. when the MPLA took over? Observing the miserable Clark Amendment, that's where.

Until Ronald Reagan came along, things were getting worse, as the late Shah of Iran could testify. In 1953, a joint Anglo-American clandestine operation put him back on his throne, from Roman exile. In 1978-79, the Brits and Yanks stood by and watched as the Ayatollah's fanatics took over.

ON THE British side, the will to do something has nearly gone. In Malaysia, between 1957 and 1970, the British took on the Communist terrorists and defeated them, in the process devolving sovereignty upon the peoples of the peninsula. An impressive performance.

A less impressive performance was on offer in 1978-79 in Rhodesia, when, with Mrs. Thatcher in power but with Lord Carrington as Foreign Secretary, the government decided that it was not going to help the (legitimately elected) government of Bishop Muzorewa to stay in power by taking on the anti-white guerrillas. Hence the advent of Mugabe's "Marxist" government in what is now Zimbabwe. Hence also the nonsense of Britain's helping the "Marxist" regime in Mozambique (with American approval) against the anti-Communist guerrillas.

What is to be done? The answer, very sadly, seems to me: not very much. The British lost the will to do much about such challenges after the Suez fiasco of 1956, although there was a stirring flicker of the old flame with the Falklands expedition. As for the United States, the return of the will to act came with Ronald Reagan, burned brightly, then died with Irangate and the advent of the very nice Mr. Howard Baker. Rejoice, Mikhail Gorbachev: The Congress of the United States can be relied upon to look after your interests. □

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Maggie Gallagher

WOMB TO LET

IT'S THE KIND of story that makes Phil Donahue's mouth water. It's a tale of sex and money, love and greed, eager hope and cruel betrayal. It's the stuff of soap operas, cheap tabloids, and pulp fiction: On March 27, Baby M turned one year old.

Everyone knows by now the outline of Baby M's story. For $10,000, Mary Beth Whitehead agreed to bear a child and give her to Bill Stern and his wife. After Baby M was born, Mary Beth changed her mind. She refused the ten grand and kept Baby M for four months, fleeing to Florida after a New Jersey court granted the Sterns temporary custody.

A snapshot from Baby M's family album: On a sunny day in Holiday, Florida, four-month-old Baby M sleeps peacefully in a crib in her grandma's home. Her mother is out, but her ten-year-old half-sister, Tuesday, is in the bathroom, brushing her hair. Tuesday hears a strange man's voice, and runs out into the hall to see what's happening. Three men stand in front of her sister's room. They see the crib. One man snatches up the baby and runs toward the front door. Maybe it looks like a kidnapping, but it's all perfectly kosher: The men are officers of the law. Tuesday takes her hairbrush and starts beating on the nearest sheriff, screaming: "No! No! No!"

Bill Stern got his daughter back. Mary Beth Whitehead was reduced to visiting Baby M for two hours twice a week at a local home for troubled youths. At first, Baby M, smelling her mother's milk, nuzzled at Mary Beth's neck, but the court-appointed chaperon wouldn't let Baby M nurse. That might create a mother-child bond, and the state of New Jersey has not yet decided whether Mary Beth will be permitted to be Baby M's mother.

Though reams have been written about surrogate motherhood, the underlying issues are seldom named. A great soap opera is taking place right before the public's eyes, and most of the discussion sounds like a page ripped from a *National Enquirer* primer: See Mary Beth cry. See Bill Stern cry. See Bill Stern's childless wife cry. Who's sorriest now? By the time this magazine goes to press, the first leg of Baby M's long journey through the courts will be over, but her case and the fight over the larger issues will continue. What is at stake is our fundamental conception of the family and the most primal personal right —the right to one's own children.

Advocates of surrogate matings don't want us to think about the issue in those terms. They have successfully sold the public on the idea that surrogate matings are the fruit of a revolutionary new technology. "There was not one state in fifty that was ready for this scientific revolution," Gary Skoloff, the Sterns' attorney, proclaimed during a court recess. Those who oppose the practice end up looking like intellectual Neanderthals: anti-medicine, anti-progress, anti-science. Not only do Americans love technology, we are loyal to it. It is as difficult to persuade an American that he could successfully resist the advance of technology as it is to persuade a Marxist that he could resist the march of history. Even those who oppose surrogate motherhood describe it as a kind of Frankenstein's monster, a moral horror brought on by science out-of-control.

In actuality, the only thing new about surrogate motherhood is our willingness to tolerate it. The term was originally coined to describe a complicated medical procedure in which a woman's egg is extracted, mingled with her husband's sperm, and implanted in a biologically unrelated "host" mother who carries the baby to term. But almost all those called surrogate mothers today are really surrogate wives—women who agree to conceive a child with a man through artificial insemination, and then hand it over to him.

THE FIRST recorded case of artificial insemination took place in 1790. The procedure is so simple, women have been known to do it themselves. All you need is a mechanical device to suck up and then expel liquid. One woman I spoke with used a syringe without the needle. A turkey baster will also do. Carol Pavek, a lay midwife in Amarillo, Texas, has been a surrogate mother three times. In each case, she performed her own insemination. "The couple came to stay in my house. The wife and her husband went into one room and did their thing, and then the wife gave me a little cup of semen; I placed it as close to my cervix as possible. For that, doctors charge as much as $500 per insemination!"

Mrs. Pavek's experience as a surrogate is especially interesting, for her career spans the recent history of the

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Miss Gallagher is NR*'s Assistant Article Editor.*

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practice. Carol Pavek is a lively and articulate woman, difficult not to like. She has a husband, a son, a college diploma, and a delightful Texas accent. A Christian, Mrs. Pavek volunteers for a number of Amarillo charities, mostly working with sick or handicapped children. She was married, with a son of her own, when she had her first surrogate child, a "ten-pound baby boy with flaming red hair," in 1980. She gave birth to a second surrogate son in 1982 and a third in 1984. Her last surrogate baby was a full brother to her second. That is not unusual. Parents who want more than one child usually like the idea of a matched set.

WHY DO women like Mrs. Pavek agree to have a child for a strange man? The money, of course, plays a part. The $10,000 Mary Beth Whitehead was offered seems about average, though I heard of one surrogate mom, a college graduate, who held out for $40,000. But there are more benevolent motives at work as well. Mrs. Pavek, for instance, has never taken a fee, though after the family car was wrecked, she did accept a gift of a small car for her second surrogate birth. Mostly, it seems, surrogate mothers like being pregnant.

Mrs. Pavek wanted the perfect "birthing experience." Her first son's birth, she says, "didn't go as we had planned. My husband and I teased each other we'd have to give birth until we got it right, but then what would we do with all the kids? That's when I saw Noel Keane on TV." (Keane, a Michigan lawyer and godfather of the surrogate-baby biz, has arranged hundreds of surrogate matings, including Mary Beth Whitehead's.) Jan Sutton, one of the founders of the National Association of Surrogate Mothers, has had two surrogate babies. She explains her motivations: "I always loved being pregnant—that's a thing we surrogates all share. I got the notion when I was thirty that I wanted to be pregnant again before I was 35. Maybe it's also because I have two older brothers who were adopted. I thought, Why should a family not be able to have a baby?"

After talking to surrogates like Carol and Jan, I felt a surprising degree of sympathy, a sort of female solidarity. At a time when more and more women proudly call themselves "child-free," these women's motto seems to be: The more babies, the better. But they don't have much sympathy for women like Mary Beth who want to keep their babies. "I think the court should definitely give the baby to the Sterns," Jan Sutton says. "There needs to be legislation. People [like Mary Beth] who would create problems should be weeded out. Mary Beth Whitehead's experience represents a very small percentage of the surrogate relationships around." I ask Mrs. Pavek what she thinks about Mary Beth. "Oooh, I'd like to get my hands on her," she exclaims. "Once you make a commitment, you stick with it. An egg doesn't make a baby, nor a mother either."

But that argument, advanced as if it were a truism, is the crux of the controversy. Women like Jan and Carol want to convince the public that surrogate contracts are no different from any other kind, and that surrogate moms who feel like Mary Beth are the exception: certainly unusual and perhaps a little sick. There are signs the legal community is coming around to this point of view. At present, surrogate contracts operate in the grey market, neither sanctioned nor explicitly banned by state legislatures. No judge has yet ruled a surrogate contract valid, but no judge has ruled them illegal, either. Men who want the services of a surrogate sign a letter of intent, usually promising to pay the mother a fee, plus medical expenses, and to accept the child regardless of physical or mental defects. The cost, counting legal fees, medical expenses, and the surrogate payment, runs as high as $40,000. Surrogate moms sign a letter of intent, promising, among other things, that they will not "form or attempt to form a parent-child relationship." But these are not legal contracts. Surrogate lawyers warn their clients that most of the documents they sign are not legally binding.

This may soon change. In the early 1980s, Kentucky, like a number of other states, passed a law barring payments to a mother who gives up her baby for adoption. In 1981, the attorney general of Kentucky tried to use this law to put Surrogate Parenting Associates of Louisville, Kentucky, out of business. On February 6, 1986, the Kentucky Supreme Court reached a decision: Surrogate contracts are not illegal per se, because the Kentucky law was designed "to keep baby brokers from overwhelming an expectant mother or the parents of a child with financial inducement to part with the child. The central fact in the surrogate-parenting procedure is that the agreement to bear the child is entered into *before* conception . . . [surrogate motherhood] is not biologically different from the reverse situation where the husband is infertile and the wife conceives by artificial insemination." Invoking the kindly spirit of advanced technology, the majority wrote that "The courts should not shrink from the benefits to be derived from science in solving these [fertility] problems simply because they may lead to legal complications." Thus if the decision to sell the baby is made coolly, before the pregnancy, there's nothing wrong with it.

THE COURT'S reasoning has been echoed by many other commentators. Charles Krauthammer, *The New Republic*'s foreign-policy guru, recently made a little foray into social issues. "Why the sudden concern with the few dozen surrogate-mother cases a year," he asks, ". . . when sperm donation (the reverse kind of artificial insemination where the husband is infertile and the wife conceives an outsider's child) is routine?"

It is amazing how many people have overlooked the obvious. Chalk it up to an indigenous form of couvade, a sudden outbreak of womb envy. I hate to have to be the one to point this out, but masturbating into a little cup is not at all like having a baby. George Gilder has said it, but it bears repeating: In matters of child-bearing and child-raising, the sexes are not equal. In some societies, men have very little to do with raising children—their own or anyone else's. In others, the mother's brother, rather than the infant's biological father, takes on the male parenting role. The bond between mother and child, on the other hand, is primary, indisputable. It is the bedrock of all societies that have ever existed. "It is the woman who conceives, bears, and suckles the child. Those activities that are most deeply sexual are mostly female; they comprise the mother's role, a role that is defined biologically," George Gilder writes in *Men and Marriage*. "The nominally equivalent role of father is in fact a product of

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The state could easily ban surrogate motherhood. It is not a quick and private transaction like scoring some coke. It takes a long time to make a baby, and meanwhile all your friends and relatives know you're doing it

marriage and other cultural contrivances. There is no biological need for the father to be anywhere around when the baby is born and nurtured."

This is more than an anthropologist's abstraction. It is a fact of life that men and women run into all the time. Put it this way. Unless entirely chaste, a single man can never be sure that somewhere out there, some pretty young woman he met in a bar isn't raising his first-born son—or hasn't aborted it. He will never know.

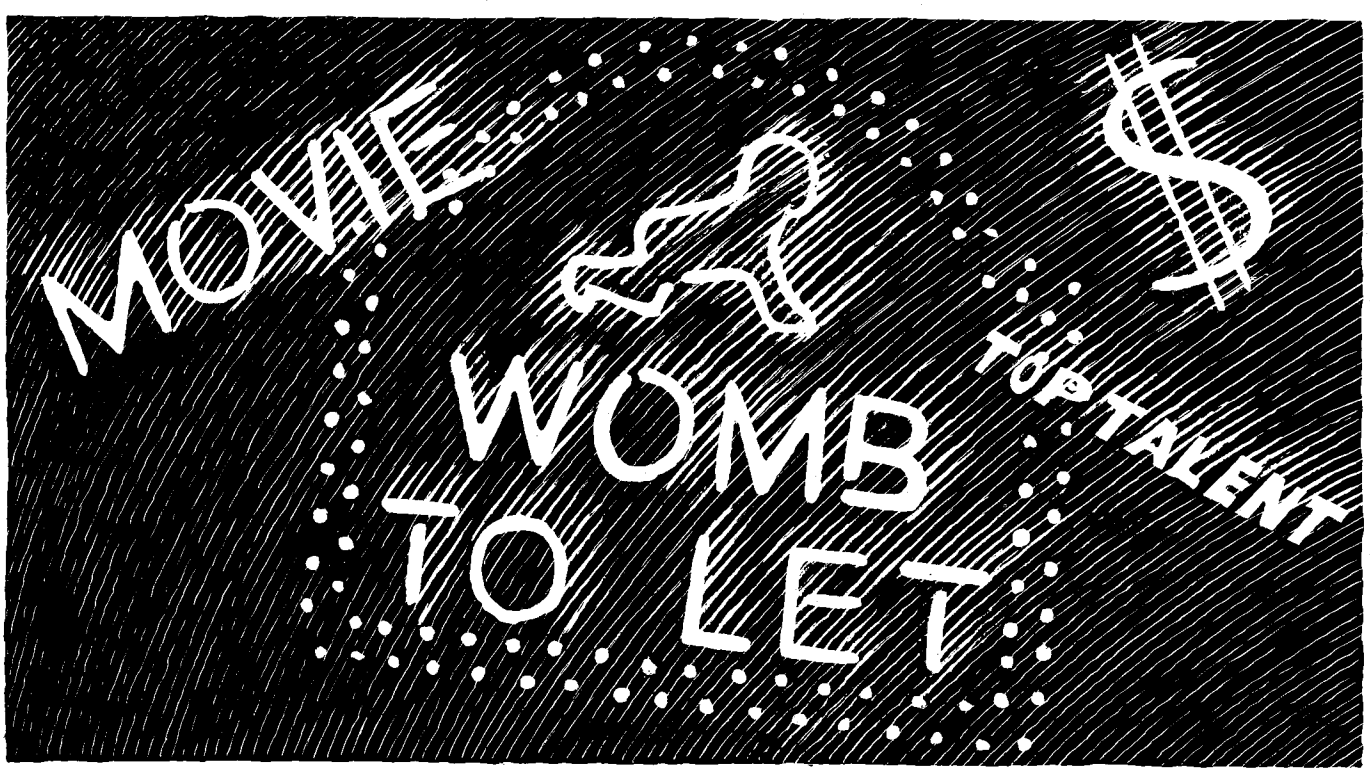
Permitting artificial insemination is only recognizing the inevitable. If women want to have babies with strange men, you cannot stop them. Surrogate motherhood, on the other hand, cannot exist for long unless it is institutionalized. Though surrogate advocates argue that if outlawed, the practice will only be driven underground, it is difficult to imagine a practice the state could more easily ban. Surrogate motherhood is not a quick and private transaction like scoring some coke. It takes a long time to make a baby, and meanwhile all your friends and relatives know you're doing it. Even if surrogate matings were only treated, as they are now, with benign neglect, the practice wouldn't have much of a future. There are not many men who would be willing to pay $40,000 or more for a baby they have no legal right to collect. If the common law prevails, the men could very well end up paying child support, and receive only visitation rights in return.

Surrogate motherhood can prosper only if society creates special institutions to foster its growth. And what those special institutions come down to is this: a guarantee by the government that it will strip a woman of her parental rights, not because she abandons her child, but because she is unwilling to do so.

Though the mother-child bond is the basis of all societies, legal institutions that affirm and protect the primacy of this bond are not inevitable. They are, for the most part, a modern invention. Today what most mothers consider their most precious right—the right to their children—is undergoing slow erosion in ordinary divorce and custody cases. The push to legalize surrogate contracts represents a frontal assault on that right.

The avant-garde of this destructive force is the surrogate mothers themselves. They cheerfully produce infants and hand them over, without admitting pain or grief or guilt. Jan Sutton has remained close to the couple who raise her second surrogate baby. She sees her daughter from time to time, but she has no special feeling for the child. "I feel a little guilty because I didn't feel more of a maternal bond," says Mrs. Sutton. "The feeling I have for her is just like the feeling I have for the kids of other good friends."

Surrogate moms are the female counterpart to those men, molded by the welfare culture, who recount with delight the number of children they have sired but neither see nor



Brian Callanan

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Like prostitution, surrogate motherhood makes one of the most intimate acts a commercial, and therefore impersonal, transaction. Like indentured servitude, it permits an individual to sell away his personal autonomy

support. It is not an entirely fair comparison, to be sure, since these women have reason to think their babies will be well cared for. A detached delight in one's fertility is not in itself evil, it is primeval. But for a woman to let a child grow within her body, and all the while pretend it is not *her* child—that must be called a form of temporary insanity. For society to create special institutions to encourage such emotional dissociation is to try to make such an aberrant state the norm.

Some surrogate mothers may naturally feel detached from their babies, but the men who profit from surrogate arrangements also take great care to promote such detachment. Some clinics, like Surrogate Parenting Associates, keep surrogate moms and pops separated, to make it psychologically easier for the woman to give up her child. At other clinics women are encouraged to have at least a brief meeting with the prospective father and his wife, so that the surrogate mom can emotionally bond with the (usually) infertile wife. If empathy doesn't do the job, clinic personnel may use threats to get the surrogate to comply. According to one recent book favoring surrogate contracts, lawyer William Handel tells each surrogate, "I don't know if we're going to be able to enforce the contract if you decide to keep the child . . . If you decide to keep the child, we'll sue you for intentional infliction of emotional distress. You'll have ruined this couple's life. And we'll make it awfully expensive for you to hold on to the child."

Surrogate motherhood is partly like indentured servitude, and partly like prostitution. Like prostitution, it makes one of the most intimate acts a commercial, and therefore impersonal, transaction. Like indentured servitude, it permits an individual to sell, not just the fruits of his labor, but his personal autonomy. A surrogate mom sells away a great deal of physical control. She promises not to drink, smoke, or have sex. She may promise to have an abortion if tests show the possibility of a genetic defect, and to undergo genetic tests even when they are not medically indicated. The Sterns insisted that Mary Beth undergo amniocentesis (which carries some risk to the unborn child) against the advice of her private obstetrician: They didn't want damaged goods. Some rights really are inalienable. You ought not to be able to sell yourself into slavery, even for nine months.

The Kentucky Supreme Court was right about one thing. Surrogate contracts and adoptions are not comparable. Adoption is the fulfillment, not the negation, of parental responsibility. Especially in a country where abortion is cheap and easy, when a woman gives her baby up for adoption she has thereby acknowledged her obligations to her child. Almost always, adoption is part of a conscious attempt to do what is best for the child. The surrogate mother does not admit she has any special obligations to her child; she does not admit that it is hers. The child cannot obligate her, she obligates it: It is a product, conceived for sale and use.

Mary Goodhue is a New York state senator. Along with the Senate Minority Leader, Mrs. Goodhue has introduced legislation legalizing surrogate motherhood. I asked her whether she was concerned that her bill would create a market in babies. She has a deep voice, a brusque manner, and no qualms at all. "How can a father buy his own child?" she asks. "What he's bought is the use of the surrogate's womb."

Mrs. Goodhue's bill provides that fathers who use a surrogate mother will be guaranteed custody of the child they contracted for. It also provides that surrogate contracts must be approved by the court, which will make sure that proper procedures have been followed. Lawyers must pontificate, doctors examine, and psychiatrists psychoanalyze before the surrogate mating takes place. Mrs. Goodhue's response is typical. Almost all commentators in the press blame state legislatures for failing to regulate the procedure. What they and Mrs. Goodhue apparently find scandalous is not that there's a market in babies, but that it's a free market: unscreened women making up their own minds, people without medical degrees opening clinics, men and women entering into surrogate relationships without benefit of psychologist—unlicensed people making *babies*!

Horrid as it may be to contemplate, people make babies all the time without so much as a by-your-leave to the government. The problem is not the lack of regulation; it is the lack of the courage to call a spade a spade. A surrogate contract is just a polite term for baby-selling. As Kentucky Justice Vance wrote in his dissent, "When the activities of Surrogate Parenting Associates are placed in their best light by the majority, the fact remains that its primary purpose is to locate women who will readily, for a price, allow themselves to be used as human incubators and who are willing to sell, for a price, all of their parental rights in a child thus born."

If a surrogate contract isn't just a sophisticated excuse for baby-selling, then Mary Beth Whitehead deserves her $10,000. She did her job. She traveled to the clinic. She faithfully visited her doctor. She endured all the hardships of pregnancy. She produced an heir. Stern's family line survives.

Beside the right to your own children, all other liberties pale. If surrogate advocates have their way, we may soon live in a society in which fathers legally exploit mothers and mothers exploit their own children, in which judges ponder whether a loving mother may nurse her baby, and where the state can declare a woman *mater non grata*—because someone else outbids her for her child. □

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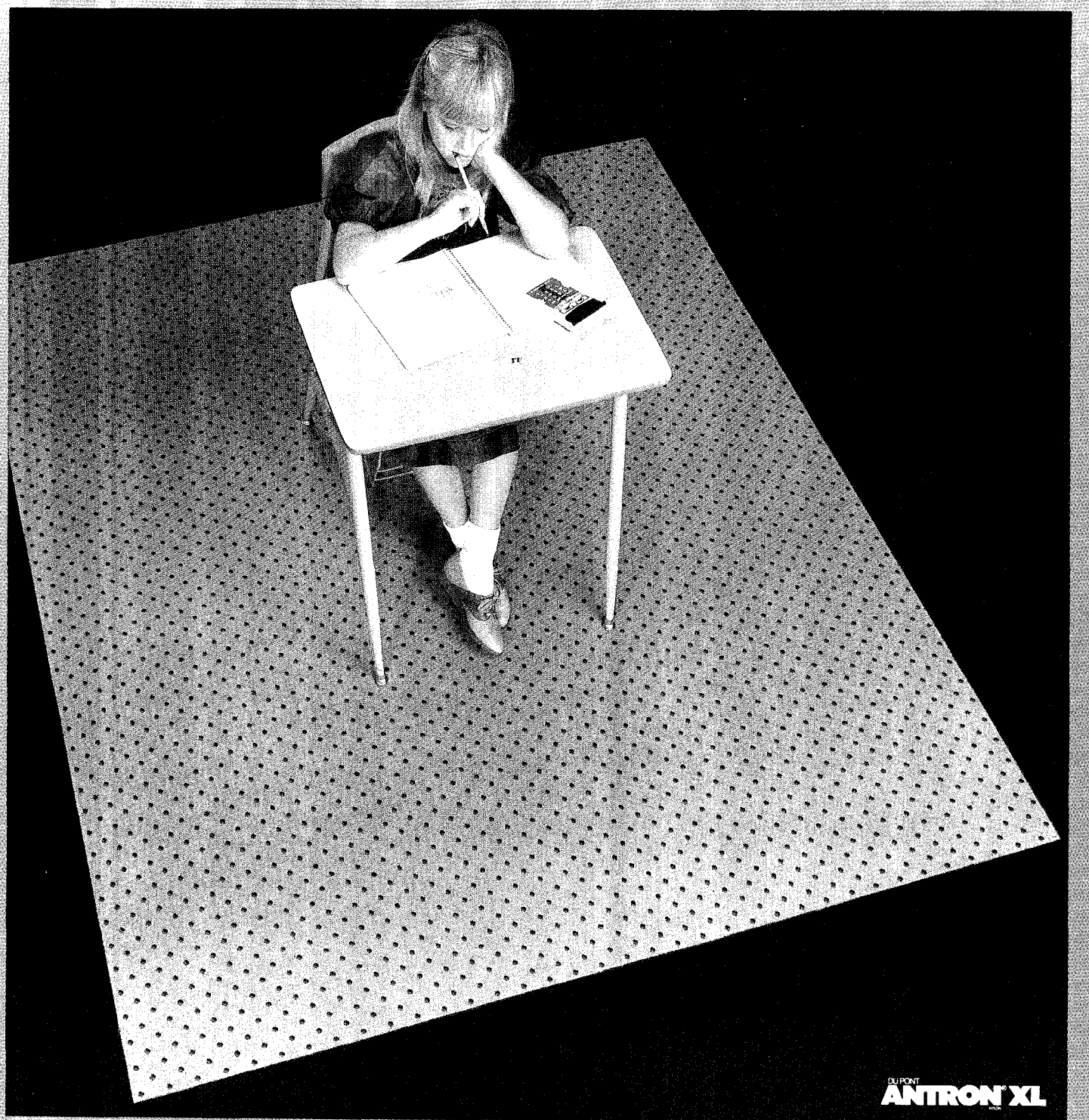

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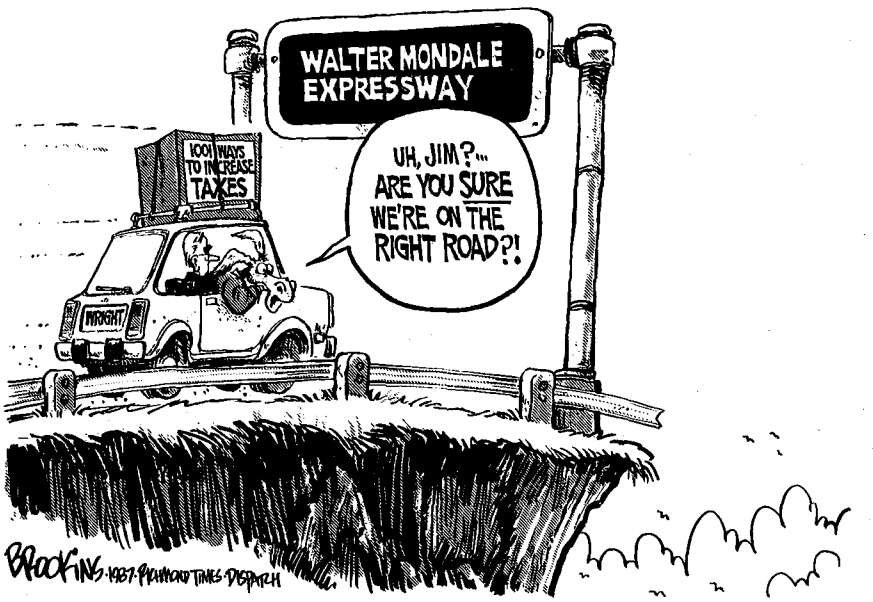
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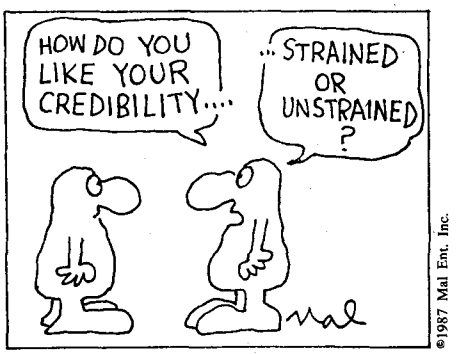
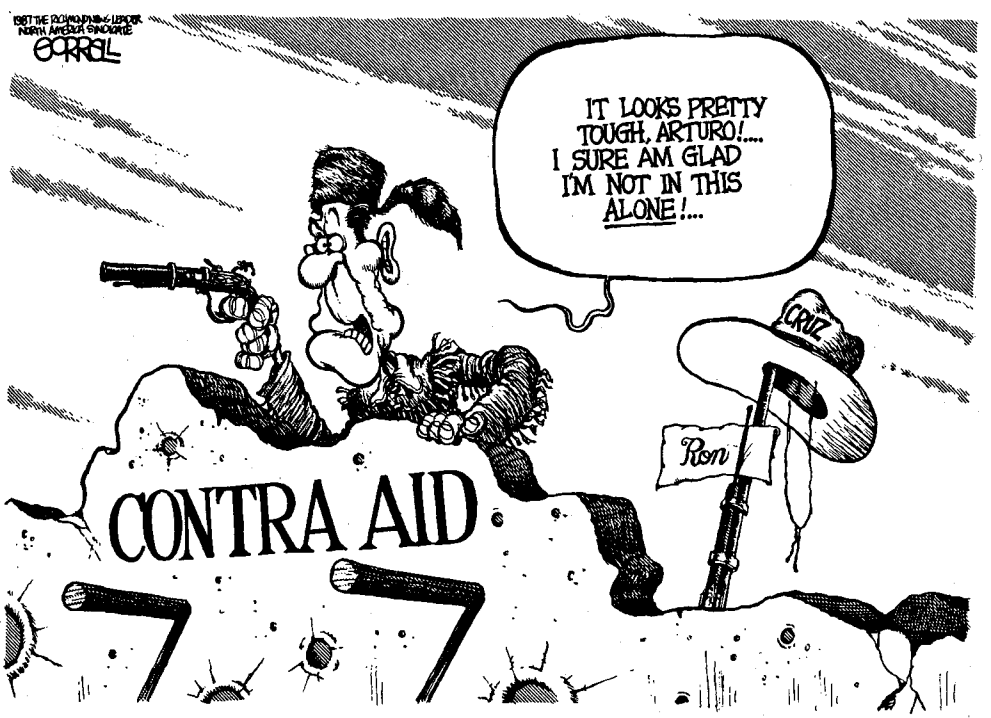


Editor's Lament

It causes an editor dire distress
If, after an issue has just gone to press,
An author calls up to say, "I'm afraid
A change in my manuscript has to be made."

The change can't be made because now it's too late.
But even if made at an earlier date
I doubt if one reader in thousands would care
Or note if the change were or weren't there.

CORINNA MARSH



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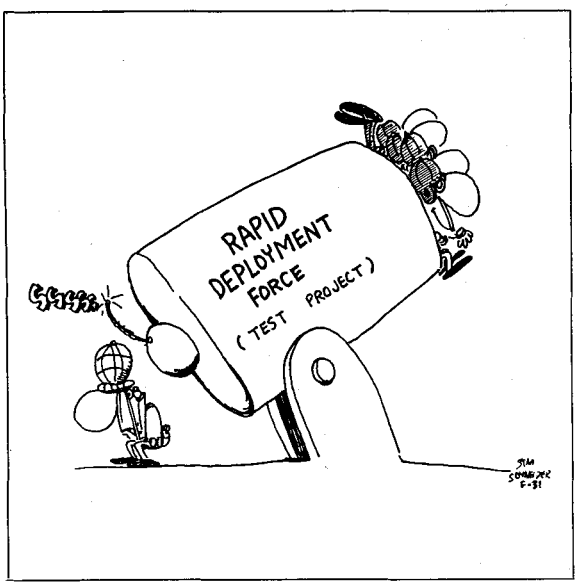

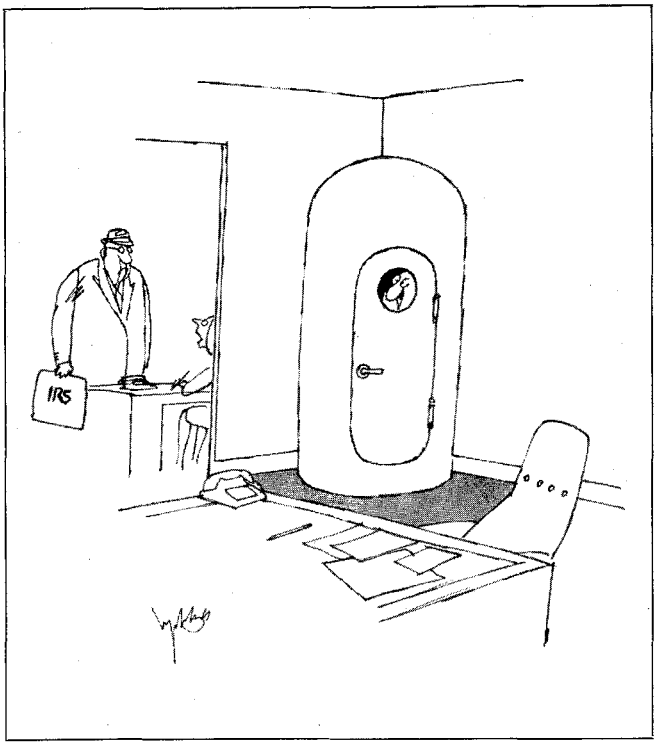

"He can't see you right now. He's in his tax shelter."

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
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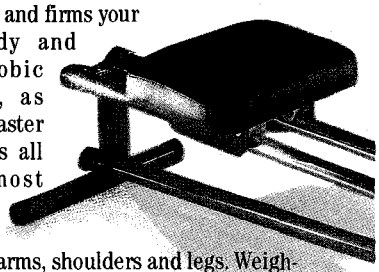
ROWING FOR FITNESS



Rowing tones and firms your whole body and provides aerobic conditioning, as well. The Vitamaster Stowaway works all major and most minor muscle groups in your back, stomach, arms, shoulders and legs. Weighing only 28 lbs., it requires only 12″ x 15″ x 34″ when in operation and collapses after use for compact storage. Actually takes up less room than a suitcase. The Stowaway is constructed of heavy tubular steel and has a full-size 54″ bed. The contour seat is padded for comfort and mounted on nylon rollers which glide on chrome rails. Single rowing arm with hydraulic tension resistance has 12 adjustable tension settings — from light to heavy — to provide a varied workout. Molded plastic pedals with adjustable footstraps rotate individually to simulate rowing action. Non-mar footpads protect floor. Comes assembled. Save yourself an expensive gym membership. For the one-time cost of **$99.95** you can exercise in the privacy of your own home. #L87903D

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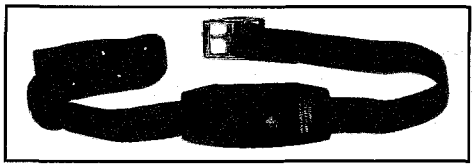

Flea and tick season is the bane of existence for most dogs and cats — and their owners. Pets suffer tremendous itching and pain from these pesky little varmints, not to mention the injury animals can cause themselves from continuous scratching and biting. Now there's a 100% safe, veternarian-tested remedy that eliminates the use of poisonous chemicals and constant bathing, dipping, spraying and powdering your favorite pet. The electronic flea collar employs a pulse modulated burst circuit (PMBC) to create such an intolerable noise level, inaudible to humans and pets, that the critters hastily abandon their host animal. This electronic collar works on two lithium cells (included) for six to eight months, and focuses on a four-foot zone of protection. Two fluorescent reflectors on the collar make your pet more visible at night. **$39.95** #L87901.

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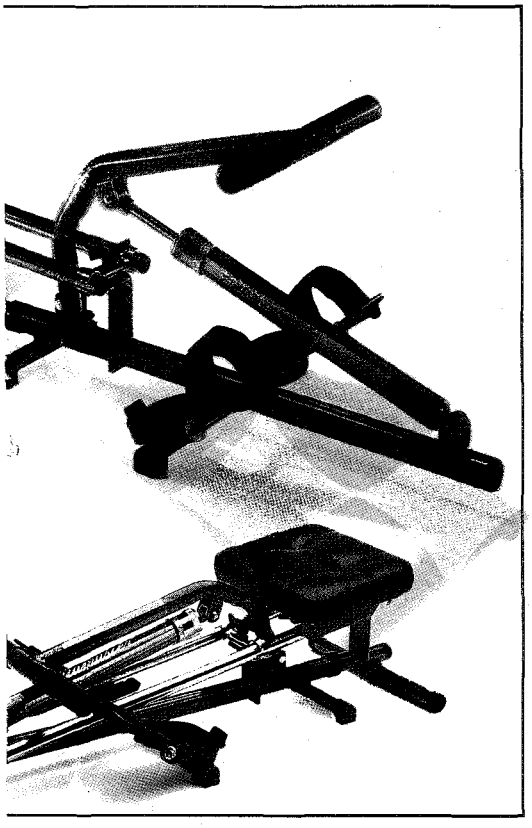

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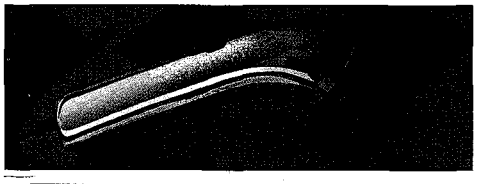
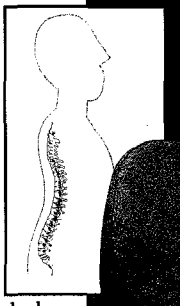
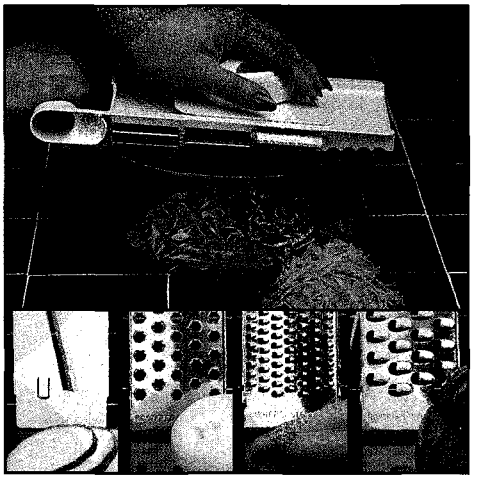


REDUCE BACK STRAIN



Sitting in a conventional chair, bent over a desk or table for long periods of time can stress your spine and back muscles. The unique ergonomic-design backless chair has proved itself by sparing many a back the pain of cramping and kinking up. It allows your body to properly align itself by shifting weight from lower back to your knees. The swivel backless chair provides even more comfort and freedom. Suited for use at any work station, desk or table, its reinforced oak, four-star pedestal base is equipped with commercial-quality, dual-track casters for effortless maneuverability over carpets and floors. It has a manual height adjustment to conform to varying heights of work surfaces and people. Thick cushioning and handsome grey tweed upholstery. Minimal assembly required. **$69.95** #L87902D.

GRATE IT ALL



It used to be you had to sacrifice knuckles — or at least a fingernail — to use up every bit of whatever you were grating. Not any more. We've found a grater that grates, slices and shreds every bit without touching your fingers. Imported from West Germany, the Leifheit grater, constructed of sturdy ABS plastic, comes with a unique food holder designed to secure food while protecting fingers. Indentations permit the frame to fit sungly atop bowls ranging in size from 4 1/2″ to 9 1/2″. Four very sharp stainless steel blades — small or large shredders, medium grater and slicer — store in frame. Dishwasher safe. **$24.95** #L87906.

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REBEL AID

THE PICTURES OF starving children with swollen bellies and pathetic eyes are only the beginning of the story. The real problem in Ethiopia is not with the rains, but in the reign of terror its current rulers, with a little help from Moscow, have imposed on their unhappy people. To stave off hunger, the Ethiopians need not butter, but guns; not charity, but freedom—and, if necessary, a revolution to establish it.

The situation is ripe. The personnel, in the form of thousands of refugees with military training, is available. At least two existing political groups, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Alliance and the Ethiopian Democratic Union, could provide the organizational foundation for an armed resistance. Both are based in Sudan, are run partly by Western-trained military professionals, and are committed to democratic and pluralistic principles. Thanks to the Ethiopian Communist regime's political mistakes, and to a rough topography ideally suited to guerrilla war, an armed resistance would stand an excellent chance. So far, however, the Reagan Administration has refused to extend the Reagan Doctrine—which calls for American aid to promising anti-Communist resistance movements —to Ethiopia. Yet the strategic significance of Ethiopia makes support for such a resistance movement important, not only for Ethiopia, but for America as well.

On June 28, 1974, an Ethiopian army junta calling itself the Dergue overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in a bloodless coup. At first, the emperor lingered on as a symbolic head of state, but soon he was formally deposed, toted away from his elegant palace in the back seat of a little blue Volkswagen. The more moderate members of the Dergue were soon purged. Several leftist factions battled for power, a struggle that culminated in a spectacular and bloody shootout at the junta's headquarters. The winner of the gunfight, and now undisputed ruler of Ethiopia, was a Marxist-Leninist major, Mengistu Haile-Mariam.

One of Mengistu's first acts as dictator was to smother the old and decrepit emperor to death with a pillow. One of his next was to put into place the agricultural and political policies that would culminate in the famine that sparked so much compassion in the West. In 1975, Mengistu declared all agricultural land the property of the state. Encouraged by this decree, some peasants drove their landlords away and grabbed their estates. But the new regime soon set the peasants straight. The government would henceforth be the landlord. The peasants would rent the land from it and would be forbidden to hire help. The large estates in the south were turned into Soviet-style collectives.

In order to make the land-reform decrees stick, the regime established "peasant associations." To organize these associations, Mengistu sent mobs of high-school and college students out into the countryside, where they wreaked havoc, dispensing arbitrary and often brutal revolutionary justice. Although these state farms have proved a disaster, the Dergue has insisted on pouring 80 per cent of its agricultural investment into them, pulling critical resources, in the form of seeds and fertilizer, out of productive areas of the country.

Under Haile Selassie, Ethiopia usually produced enough food not only to feed itself, but also to export agricultural products. Under the burden of Communist agricultural policy, Ethiopia's economy has collapsed: The per-capita productivity of the peasantry has fallen significantly, while the amount of land under cultivation has actually decreased. Seven to eight million people still are on the brink of starvation, despite good rains and massive Western aid. In the cities, nationalization of large and small businesses alike has led to mass bankruptcies and to an unemployment rate of 50 per cent and rising. Ethiopia's foreign-exchange reserves are long gone: Mengistu now owes $5 billion to the Soviet Union for the arms that have fed a sevenfold expansion of the military.

By now, the Ethiopian regime's role in creating the famine has been well documented. Ethiopia's neighbor Kenya, which was hit harder by drought, has experienced none of Ethiopia's mass starvation and disease. The Kenyan government took reasonable and prudent measures to deal with the food shortage. Mengistu, on the other hand, took a leaf out of Stalin's book and saw the drought as an opportunity to crush resistance. Not only did he fail to get food to his people—for some time, he tried to keep international relief agencies from knowing there was a famine.

MUCH OF THE aid that was eventually sent has been diverted to feed the army, or used as bait in a cruel mass resettlement program that has come under increasing fire from Western relief organizations. The State Department estimates that Mengistu has forcibly relocated 500,000 people; observers in Sudan say the real number may be three times that high. Many of those dragged from their homes had grown sufficient stocks of food to feed themselves and their families for the coming year. Farmers have been taken off their lands during

Mr. Deressa is the president of the Ethiopian Refugee Education and Relief Foundation, founded to bring humanitarian aid to the nearly three million Ethiopian refugees in Sudan and Somalia. For ten years he worked as a United Nations radio journalist broadcasting daily news reports to his native Ethiopia. He holds degrees in economics from London and Pace Universities.

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the harvest. Villages have been bulldozed and marketplaces bombed. Families are torn apart apparently on purpose, and people are packed like cattle into trucks, buses, and unheated and unpressurized airplanes for a trip of hundreds of miles. Some reports indicate that victims are often starved beforehand to make them easier to handle. Many die on the journey.

Those who survive find themselves in resettlement camps similar to the re-education camps that proliferate in the Communist world. There is little food, less shelter, and no hygiene. Disease and pestilence are rampant. The refugees work under duress, supervised by gun-toting guards who brutalize and torture them for infractions of the rules. Informers are paid with food. Those who try to escape may be shot. A *Médecins sans Frontières* report released in December 1985 estimated Mengistu's resettlement camps had taken the lives of at least 100,000 people. The death toll has mounted since.

Resettlement camps are but the beginning of a larger plan. The regime plans to forcibly relocate nearly all of Ethiopia's rural population of thirty million people into centralized villages. Although relocation is billed as a way to provide more efficient services to the peasants, the regime's real aims are evidently military: Rural areas are good breeding grounds for guerrillas. Thus, for the moment, Mengistu is concentrating on rounding up peasants in areas where resistance is active.

Consider the province of Hararghe, home of an active rebellion led by the Oromo Liberation Front, itself a Marxist group. The villagization campaign in Hararghe was at last report causing about 1,500 refugees a day to pour into neighboring Somalia. According to these refugees, Mengistu's soldiers force rural families from their homes. If they balk, their houses are burned down. Often victims are beaten, raped, or murdered. At the new villages, they must build their own houses and submit to indoctrination and constant surveillance. From these villages, it is often a long distance to travel to their fields, and almost everything they produce belongs to the state. Food production in Hararghe has plunged, and resistance flourishes.

Communism has not succeeded in consolidating its power in Ethiopia —not yet. When Mengistu first took over, he left most of Ethiopia's political institutions intact. He made an alliance with Moscow, but—apparently afraid of Soviet manipulation or worse —he refused to allow the Soviets or East Germans to train or control his secret police. In 1978, the Soviets and Cubans tried to make an end run around Mengistu, smuggling in an exiled Ethiopian Marxist to set up a Communist party inside the country. To Mengistu, who had only recently destroyed another rival Ethiopian Marxist party in a "Red Terror" campaign that included mass arrests and murder in the streets, the new Soviet maneuver appeared as an attempt to outflank him. He expelled the Cuban and Soviet ambassadors. Soon, however, relations were back to normal. Mengistu eventually bowed to pressure and allowed a Marxist party (now known as the Workers' Party of Ethiopia) to be established, though it was kept weak for several years.

As a result of Mengistu's hesitancy, Communism hasn't had the chance to send deep roots into Ethiopian society. Without the influence networks, informants, and systematic indoctrination provided by a Leninist-style party organization, Mengistu's regime is vulnerable, and his ability to stamp out guerrilla movements greatly limited.

This favorable situation will not last long. In the coming years the party will expand and gain influence. Un-

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reliable people will gradually be purged from positions of influence and party members put in their places. The systematic indoctrination of schoolchildren has already begun.

As Ethiopia is bound tighter to the Soviet Union, the threat to America will grow. Moscow has been trying to gain a beachhead in the strategically crucial Horn of Africa, at the mouth of the Red Sea, since it began supplying arms to Eritrean guerrillas in the early Sixties, and later through its alliance with Somalia. With the Soviet client state of South Yemen across from the Horn, Ethiopia is in a perfect position to threaten maritime traffic headed through the Suez Canal or on its way from the Persian Gulf oil ports around the Horn to Europe. The oilfields of the Arabian Peninsula and Iran are but a few hundred miles away. Already the Soviet navy has a base on the Dahlak Islands off Ethiopia's coast, and Soviet naval warplanes fly from Ethiopian bases on patrol over the Indian Ocean.

THE THREAT goes beyond this. The Ethiopian army, grown to over half a million strong, has become a serious military threat to the surrounding countries: Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, and Somalia. Ethiopian troops are already taking the place of Cubans as the USSR's African legion. Because they are black and African, they are less of a propaganda liability than the Cubans. Unlike Cuban troops, they can be paid with grain instead of currency. The more than 35,000 Cuban troops battling UNITA in Angola cost the strapped Angolan regime approximately $500 million a year. Ethiopian troops will be much cheaper. Ethiopian pilots are already replacing Cubans in the cockpits of Soviet-supplied Angolan aircraft, and six thousand Ethiopian troops are now in Mozambique to bolster the flagging Communist dictatorship there.

According to one Ethiopian defector, Mengistu is setting up a fifty-thousand-man special-forces unit, under the tutelage of the Soviets. These commandos are being trained to operate behind enemy lines: sabotaging communications, destroying vital targets, and generally sowing chaos. When they become operational they may be far more dangerous than any troops yet seen on the African continent.

Also, it appears that for the first time a "black KGB" has been set up for use, not just in Ethiopia, but all over Africa. According to local reports, not always verifiable, its members can marry only other members, and any children are taken from their parents at ten months of age and shipped to the Soviet Union to be brought up as model agents.

The only thing restraining Soviet exploitation of the Ethiopian army is the need to deal with secessionist guerrillas in Ethiopia. Once the resistance is crushed, Ethiopian troops may be deployed to crush UNITA and Renamo, and such countries as Sudan and Somalia will face a serious and active military threat. African nations will have to deal with a new balance of power on the continent; resistance to the dictates of Moscow will become much more risky. In the southern tip of the continent, South Africa may find itself completely alone. The loss of southern Africa would be a crushing blow to the security of the United States and her allies.

Right now, the power of the Ethiopian Communist regime is broad but shallow. *The World Human Rights Guide*, a report recently compiled by *The Economist* of London, gives Ethiopia the lowest human-rights rating in the world. The regime has not been able to gain a constituency among any sector of society, and rules only through terror and force. The rural population bitterly hates the regime, and the students and city dwellers have been alienated by the catastrophic economic conditions and by Mengistu's periodic terror campaigns. Nationalization has impoverished and humbled businessmen and merchants and has made many of them into black-market criminals.

Though the army is larger, better equipped, and more powerful than under Haile Selassie, it has serious weaknesses that could be exploited by a truly popular resistance. It has lost much of its prestige and esprit de corps; Mengistu deals with discipline problems, or military failures, by summary execution. Years of civil war, and the use of the military in the forced starvation and the brutal resettlement and villagization campaigns, have demoralized officers and men. Draft evasion is now so widespread that the state has begun combatting it by throwing the mothers of draft-dodgers in jail. The desertion rate is astronomical: A few years ago, for example, more than five thousand officers and men mutinied together and escaped to Sudan.

Ethiopia is ripe for a broad-based national liberation movement—if only the United States offers its support. Such a group could provide a legitimate alternative, not only to Mengistu, but to the Marxist-led secessionist factions now stalemated in their war against him. (The Marxist secessionist groups are ethnically based, with a limited national appeal. The pro-democratic EDU and EPDA, by contrast, include Ethiopians of all ethnic and religious types and have the potential to become truly national movements.)

Guerrilla wars are always chancy, but in Ethiopia a legitimate resistance movement would almost certainly awaken powerful latent forces. In Sudan there are thousands of officers and NCOs—some of them West Point-trained—and tens of thousands of potential recruits living as refugees, waiting for the chance to fight the regime that destroyed their country. Administrative and technical expertise is already in place, as is a support structure of Ethiopians now living in Western democracies. With proper funding —measured in the tens, not hundreds, of millions—a trained force of thirty thousand fighters could be in the field in a matter of months.

Ethiopia is far from the Soviet Union. Mengistu would find resupply a nightmare if airfields and seaports were sabotaged. The lack of roads handicaps a conventional army and helps guerrillas immensely. Also, there is no "ugly American" problem to contend with: Perhaps because the country has never been successfully colonized, Westerners are well liked in Ethiopia. Americans are remembered with fondness for their roles as missionaries, educators, agronomists, and development

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experts during Haile Selassie's time. America's reputation has, if anything, grown brighter with the massive American effort to relieve the famine.

The resources of Ethiopia's neighbors are already strained by their own battles against hunger and against Ethiopian-trained and -supported guerrillas. If help comes, it must be from the West. Unfortunately, the United States has taken a "Catch-22" approach to supporting Ethiopian freedom-fighters. The State Department has informed the democratic resistance groups they will not receive aid until they have put a substantial force in the field. In some cases this might be a prudent policy. In a region impoverished by famine, where recruits would come from desolate refugee camps based in countries that are poor themselves, and where resources for training and equipping troops are almost wholly lacking, it is a recipe for disaster, a foolproof way to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. Moreover, there is some evidence that the force-in-the-field requirement is merely an excuse for inaction: Despite the odds, the Ethiopian Democratic Union has now put a small force in the field, yet State Department officials still resist the idea of sending it aid on the grounds that we have relations with the Mengistu regime.

America can stand by while the Soviets consolidate their power in the Horn of Africa as a base for further conquests. Or it can take a historic step to roll back the frontiers of Communism. The investment in a democratic resistance would be small, the risk minimal. But the returns, to the Ethiopian people and to the West, would be a thousandfold. □

Yes

"There is only one important question for scientists, namely, Is the universe friendly?" —*Albert Einstein*

The Sun is not the center. *Pace* revered Copernicus.
The Earth is not the center. *Pace* esteemed Ptolemy.
The observer is not the center. *Pace* beloved Einstein.
The Son is the center.
The Father is the circumference.
The Paraclete is the paradigm.
The One is beyond the center.
The One is beyond the circumference.
The One is The Existent.
The One is beyond the universe.
The One is beyond the pluriverse.
The One is The Unmanifest.
The Uncarved Block.
The Incomprehensible.
The Inexpressible.
The Eternal of Eternals.
The One is The Majesty beyond all majesties.
The One is Unbearable Bliss.
The Uncontainable Love.
The Wilderness of Delight.
The Self-Beloved.
The Polar Exploration of The Imploded.
Then:
Time.
The Ecstasy of The Big Bang.
The Explosion of The Plenum.
The Exfoliation of The Bud.
Ah!
The Word Made Flesh.
The world made fresh.
The Lambda of The Godhead,
Who takes away the nothingness of everything.
Atom and Eve.
Raising can.
Enabling possibility.
The Belly-laugh of the G-our-D.
All will be swell.

—JOHN KILEY

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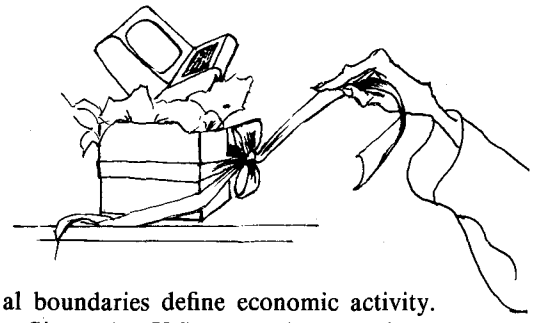
Don't Let the Grinch Steal Christmas



THE GRINCH plans ahead. For you and me, it may seem too early to think about Christmas. But the Grinch is already preparing. Despite his best efforts, Santa made it through the DEW line last year with his usual load of toys and safely delivered them to lucky boys and girls. But now, wielding the highly feared Grinch-PAC, the anti-Santa forces are mobilizing for a more effective campaign in 1987.

The Grinch, you see, is worried sick about U.S. "competitiveness." Toting up the Christmas balance of trade, he has discovered a shocking deficit with the North Pole. According to the Grinch's accounts, the U.S. has become the world's greatest Christmas debtor nation! In addition, the Grinch charges Santa with flagrant violations of U.S. anti-dumping laws, citing some reports that the North Pole manufacturer actually has been giving away much of his production. Something must be done before next Christmas, the Grinch declares, or the United States will go bankrupt.

The Grinch suggests several possible remedies. One is "reciprocal trade": Santa must buy an equal number of U.S.-made goods whether he wants them or not. And no hanky-panky! He must buy the U.S. goods directly; he cannot buy toys from Switzerland or Peru and let the Swiss and Peruvians buy U.S. goods. And he must buy the same items from us that we buy from him. Fair is fair. This is reciprocal trade, not some worldwide sales jamboree. Furthermore, no investments. He must buy *things*, not just pump dollars into America's future. He's not going to trick us into accepting more debt just so we can build a lot of new businesses when we have all these perfectly good smokestacks around.

A second step is anti-dumping penalties: absolutely no gifts. Santa must be forced to accept "fair market value" for all his output. Moreover, Santa must be forbidden to shift production from the North Pole to Hong Kong, South Korea, Ireland, or any other country with access to underpaid elves. (Unless, of course, he converts his labor-cost savings into higher profits rather than passing the money on to his American customers.) If Santa refuses these terms, the only answer for the United States is a domestic-content Christmas.

This is no fantasy from Dr. Seuss. The reality is even worse, since the American Grinches are not restricting themselves to the Christmas season. On microchips, for example, fierce negotiators from the Commerce Department have already pulled out their guns, pushed the terrified Japanese up against the wall, slapped them around a bit, and then demanded that they take our wallets. If the wily Orientals don't behave, the U.S. officials declare, next year we will give them our computer industry. And incidentally, a spokesman from Commerce asserts, with this kind of red-blooded American competition, in three years Santa will be through.

Economists, left, right, or center, provide surprisingly little support for Santa against the Grinch. Most agree that old-fashioned protectionism is a bad solution to the Grinch's complaint. But at the deepest level they share his concerns and also his model of the international economy, under which national boundaries define economic activity.

Since the U.S. now shows a huge deficit in high-tech goods as well as a deficit in commodity trade, nearly all economists believe something drastic must be done. Most urge tax hikes and either predict or demand a massive devaluation of the dollar. There are increasingly loud calls for import restrictions and export subsidies. Reflecting this dismal consensus, *Fortune*, *Barron's*, *Business Week*, and the *New York Times* have all run articles suggesting that it may take a recession or even a depression to close the trade gap.

In this, the conventional economists are absolutely right. To rectify the trade balance quickly would indeed take a new depression, massively focused in the U.S., so as to reduce imports more than exports. And the tax hikes, devaluations, industrial policies, and import controls urged by the economists would indeed do the trick. Although abrupt cutbacks in U.S. imports might cause devastating damage in the Third World, we could compensate by extending a lot of new bad loans to socialist dictators. Thus we could regain our suddenly cherished position as a net lender. By collapsing the U.S. stock and bond markets, the new policies could reduce the value of foreign investments in the U.S. enough to end our reign as the world's

Mr. Gilder's new book, Microcosm, *will be published by Simon & Schuster this winter.*

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leading debtor. Happy times will be here again!

As Alan Reynolds recently explained in these pages, such policies have already worked like a charm in Europe. Between 1980 and 1985, the Europeans achieved a splendid little depression and reduced their imports by $103.8 billion. The European depression was centered on the job market, and employment rates there are nearly ten percentage points below those in the U.S., which has added 11 million jobs in five years. The U.S. leads the world in seven out of nine key technical sectors, according to European industrialists polled by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). And the Europeans are actually losing ground in the information technologies targeted for nearly a decade by their industrial policies. But at least their trade accounts balance.

Even with such forces arrayed against him, Santa does have helpers. Supply-siders have always attacked the nationalist model of the international economy.

For twenty years, Arthur Laffer has been maintaining that such entities as the national currency, the national money supply, the national trade balance, the national tax burden, national aggregate demand, national investment spending, and indeed the entire national-income and -products accounts fail to measure the critical dimensions of economic activity. With the explosion in technology, communications, and information processing, this view, always sound in the long run, has become more immediately accurate.

Balanced trade between national units is not a virtue in itself, like balanced tires or a balanced diet. As an ideal, it originated in the era when trade was dominated by resources, often peculiar to a specific territory. If you got in debt, there was nothing to do but pay in kind, usually by shipping another resource, bullion, in clipper ships across treacherous seas. During this period the movement of capital was no more efficient than the movement of goods, and safe shipments of either depended on naval power.

Today capital can fly down fiber optic cables at the speed of light and bounce off satellites from continent to continent in microseconds. With $70-trillion global money markets, worldwide investment flows now are vastly more efficient than the movements of capital across a city twenty years ago and are far more efficient than the transport of goods. National economies are no longer nationally owned or controlled. Entrepreneurs can readily fight free of the webs of national taxes, currencies, and territories, moving themselves and their money between Paris and Boston more easily than between Orange County, California, and Orange County, New York. In this environment, there is no more reason for a balance of trade between two countries than between two American states.

As most economists see international exchange, goods come first and capital movements follow, just as in the old days of clipper ships and bullion loads. But in the modern world of high-speed global capital markets, capital movements normally come first and goods follow. Thus high Japanese savings rates and declining growth rates forced an outpouring of investments, largely to the United States. This inflow of capital allowed the United States to purchase large amounts of highly desirable merchandise from Japan without reducing our purchases of domestic goods.

The way the economic nationalists look at the trade picture, our purchase of Japanese goods gives us a trade deficit, and Japanese investments in our bond and equity markets make us net debtors. All round we seem like pretty sad sacks. But if their picture were true, New York City would be the poorest city in America. It imports vast quantities of goods from all fifty states and produces, by comparison, almost none. What's worse, Americans of every stripe force New York bankers, brokers, and investment houses to take their money, making the city the greatest net debtor in the U.S.A.

Supply-side economists never imagine that the U.S. economy can be understood apart from the world economy, or that debt can be understood apart from the assets it buys. The U.S. currently has the world's largest trade deficit, largely because it has been growing faster than its trading partners. A stagnant economy can import little, and because it provides few domestic investment opportunities it will ship capital to a rapidly growing economy. Debt can be a burden, as it is in Mexico, or it can be a sign of confidence in the future, as it tends to be in the United States and Japan. It can be backed by assets growing in value, as in the U.S., or it can be backed by a maw of corruption and socialism, as in Mexico. Persistent comparisons drawn between the U.S. and Mexico suggest that the economic profession in America, immured in systems of single-entry bookkeeping and national accounts, has less understanding of the real world economy than the wetbacks who don't think twice about which way to swim.

Persistent comparisons drawn between the U.S. and Mexico suggest that the economic profession in America has less understanding of the real world economy than the wetbacks who don't think twice about which way to swim

But to defend imports only on the ground that they are associated with investment, or future exports, is still to concede too much to the economic nationalists. In themselves, imports enhance the productive forces that drive economic expansion.

The high-tech industries, about which there is so much hand-wringing, are a perfect example. If the U.S. shows a rising deficit in trade with Japan in high-technology components and equipment, most economists would conclude that U.S. competitiveness must be declining in relation to Japanese. Most politicians, in turn, would conclude that the government could redress the problem through some mixture of industrial policy and protectionism. The Cambridge sages at the Harvard Busi-

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ness School and MIT have recently sold this conclusion to Reagan Administration bureaucrats in both the Pentagon and the Department of Commerce. Nonetheless, the U.S. today retains a substantial lead in the most crucial high technologies and may even be increasing it. The U.S. deficit in technology trade is a paradoxical reflection of our continuing technology edge.

Consider the computer industry, commanding the central technology of the information era. The United States maintains approximately 75 per cent of the worldwide computer market and, if anything, is increasing its share. With accelerating technical progress, the profit center of the industry is shifting rapidly from hardware to the software that makes the hardware useful. Over the last five years, some 14,000 new software companies rose up in the United States and moved the U.S. share of world software from under two-thirds to over three-quarters. This unique American efflorescence transformed the computer from an esoteric technology available chiefly in scientific laboratories and in the data-processing centers of large corporations into a ubiquitous tool of productivity. The new software brought personal computers into fully 20 per cent of American homes and, in one form or another, into most workplaces. In the down year of 1986, U.S. personal-computer sales rose 24 per cent, to an estimated $22.5 billion. In the application of personal computers, the United States leads Japan approximately 11 to one.

Analysts focusing on "fifth-generation computer projects," on mainframe systems, and on supercomputers dismiss these personal computers as toys. So did the experts at IBM a few years ago. But at the same time that the U.S. moved massively into microcomputers, small systems surged far ahead in productivity. In cost per MIPS (million instructions per second), the new 32-bit personal computers are an amazing ninety times more efficient than mainframes. With the ever growing ability to interconnect these machines in networks and use them in parallel configurations that yield mainframe performance, microcomputers are rapidly gaining market share against the large computers. Yet large machines still dominate Japanese data processing. While microcomputers generate entire new high-tech products, services, and businesses, and transform traditional industries and services, the Japanese hold only 5 per cent of the U.S. microcomputer market and have been relatively slow to exploit microcomputers for their own industry.

Our more rapid diffusion of computer technology in homes, schools, and workplaces is a source of current and future competitiveness as important for the U.S. economy as the Japanese lead in robotics and manufacturing techniques is for Japan. The U.S. edge stems from advanced microprocessors and systems designs; it fuels the growth of U.S. chip firms; it enhances the efficiency of U.S. small businesses; it contributes to the computer expertise of the U.S. workforce; it attracts immigrants; it gives the U.S. the leading role in the central arena of the information age.

Nonetheless, in terms of the balance of trade, this explosive rise in small-computer sales has been nothing short of a disaster. With industry revenues growing at a compound pace of 33 per cent a year between 1981 and 1984, the design-oriented U.S. semiconductor industry could not begin to fulfill the huge new demand for the commodity memory chips (so-called because they are produced and used in such great quantities that they are the information age's version of raw materials) that account for as much as one-third of the hardware costs of the new machines. During the peak quarters of 1984, IBM—which had made a shrewd strategic decision not to produce these devices in bulk—was importing more memory chips every month than U.S. domestic manufacturers were providing in a year. U.S. producers of peripherals, monitors, keyboards, disk drives, printers, power supplies, and other apparatus faced a similar problem.

The result was an avalanche of imports from Far Eastern manufacturers. Eventually, between 60 and 70 per cent of the hardware components in the average personal computer were being imported from Asia. This avalanche continues. Yet U.S. companies still hold some two-thirds of the total market even for peripherals, and in 1986 they produced more than $188 billion worth of electronic equipment, more than double the production of all the Asian countries combined, in-

"Hi! I'm with the IRS, Audit Division."

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cluding nearly 60 per cent of worldwide microchip production.

Economists who see the balance of trade as an index of competitiveness regard these imports as some form of American tragedy. Something must be done, they growl, to halt the "insatiable American appetite" for imported technology. But the effect of any restriction would be to retard the diffusion of computer technology in the U.S., slow the development of America's world-leading software and systems expertise, reduce the market for U.S. microprocessors, and shift the entire industry increasingly to Japan. For the U.S. to restrict imports of commodity chips and other key computer components in 1987 would make as much sense as for England to have restricted imports of raw cotton in 1787.

To imagine that the Japanese will dominate the information age because they have the best silicon is like predicting the Canadians will dominate world literature because they have the tallest trees

The computer industry exemplifies the absurdity of using the balance of trade as a measure of industrial strength. But the lesson is deeper than a mere failure of insight by economists and other experts. The lesson is that the U.S. made large gains in competitiveness over the last five years chiefly because we ignored nationalistic fetishes and pursued strategies appropriate to a global economy. Rather than trying to become self-sufficient in computing, we paid for imports by adding enormous new value to their use. Shopping around the world to find the best suppliers of components to implement our systems and software, we ended up making America the center of the industry and the prime source of world economic growth.

Moreover, it is now clear that we are ahead even where we appeared to be behind—in the design and production of the microchips that go into computers. While most of the world adopted industrial policies targeted on producing commodity memory chips and exporting them at bargain prices, we let these nations, in effect, subsidize our computer firms. Meanwhile, we drove the technology in new directions. Our feared competitors, from Japan to Germany, have achieved a hugely expensive, vastly excessive, and mostly inflexible capacity to produce commodity memories at a loss. Meanwhile, chip markets, led by American technology, are shifting rapidly toward more highly integrated systems unique to each application. The driving technology in the new era will not be huge dedicated fabrication lines that produce millions of commodity chips of one design; rather, it will be flexible design and manufacturing systems that produce a relatively few custom chips of each of thousands of designs. In this field of truly high-tech chips, the U.S. is the clear leader.

The Japanese understand this and are struggling to catch up. They will obviously participate fully in the business. But the crucial fact remains that, even while losing market share, the U.S. is still the key innovative force in the semiconductor industry. Most important, U.S. companies still shape and dominate the computer industry, which is what the contest was all about. While American economists ululated about declining competitiveness, we won the competition. We won because we went for growth opportunities rather than trade surpluses. We won because we didn't try to do everything at once. We won because we had a global orientation rather than a national industrial policy.

Right now, the U.S. Government —anxious that the U.S. be self-sufficient in chip production—is blocking a Japanese attempt to revive a failing Fairchild on our shores. The fear of foreign dominance in specific semiconductor processes at a time when the U.S. still produces more than half of the world's chips misconceives the essence of information technology. To imagine that the Japanese will dominate the information age because they have the best silicon is like predicting the Canadians will dominate world literature because they have the tallest trees.

And just as the Department of Defense and the old-line U.S. semiconductor firms contend that the U.S. must maintain a lead in all the components of computing, the Japanese government is encouraging Japanese companies to strive for an across-the-board edge in all facets of the technology. Neither side will succeed in its autarkic goals. By defying the principles of the division of labor that underlie all capitalist prosperity, any nation will ultimately weaken itself. The winners will be the nations that best exploit the worldwide reach of the division of labor in manufacturing and design. The winners will be the nations that can transcend nationalism.

The chief threat to U.S. competitiveness today is U.S. industrial policy. Virtually every congressional and bureaucratic intervention in the economy hurts the ability of U.S. companies to compete internationally:

Immigration—The new Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 will restrict our access to our most valuable source of new manpower and technical expertise. Immigrant workers and engineers play absolutely crucial roles throughout U.S. laboratories, cleanrooms, assembly lines, and entrepreneurial companies. Tandy, for example, is winning the battle against Asian PC clones with a factory in Fort Worth with workers from twenty countries and a Japanese-immigrant manager. It has been estimated that a fifth of the workers in Silicon Valley, including a notable company head, are illegal aliens. A crackdown could destroy the heart of many U.S. high-technology firms.

National Security—The Pentagon is trying to present itself as the solution to the problem of lagging competitiveness. But despite certain useful programs, and support of university basic research, it is mostly part of the problem. Harassing government contractors, penalizing creativity, endlessly adapting old technologies while eschewing advanced commercial products, competing for personnel but not training them, the Pentagon, despite high levels of

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spending, may well be a net burden on U.S. competitiveness.

Awkwardly administered by several conflicting agencies, national-security export controls have already inflicted serious damage on the U.S. semiconductor capital-equipment industry by swathing it in red tape and excluding American companies from the fastest-growing Asian markets. While the Pentagon sells real weapons systems around the globe, it restricts and delays sales of Apple computers in Hong Kong and chip-making machinery in South Korea. Such handicaps contributed significantly to the recent bankruptcy of GCA Corporation, then the world leader in manufacturing the most crucial chip-making gear, which was balked on Asian sales at precisely the moment that Nikon and Canon entered the market.

If the government is truly worried about the national-security implications of losing our technological edge, it would be better off straightening out American educational and social policy. Areas in which the Japanese really are far ahead include the diligence of their students, the demandingness of their schools, and the stability of their families.

International Price Fixing—The Commerce Department seems even more incompetent than the Pentagon. The recent semiconductor price-setting agreement with Japan jeopardizes the U.S. lead in computers by making most U.S. computer firms pay twice as much for memory components as their Japanese rivals, who make them in house.

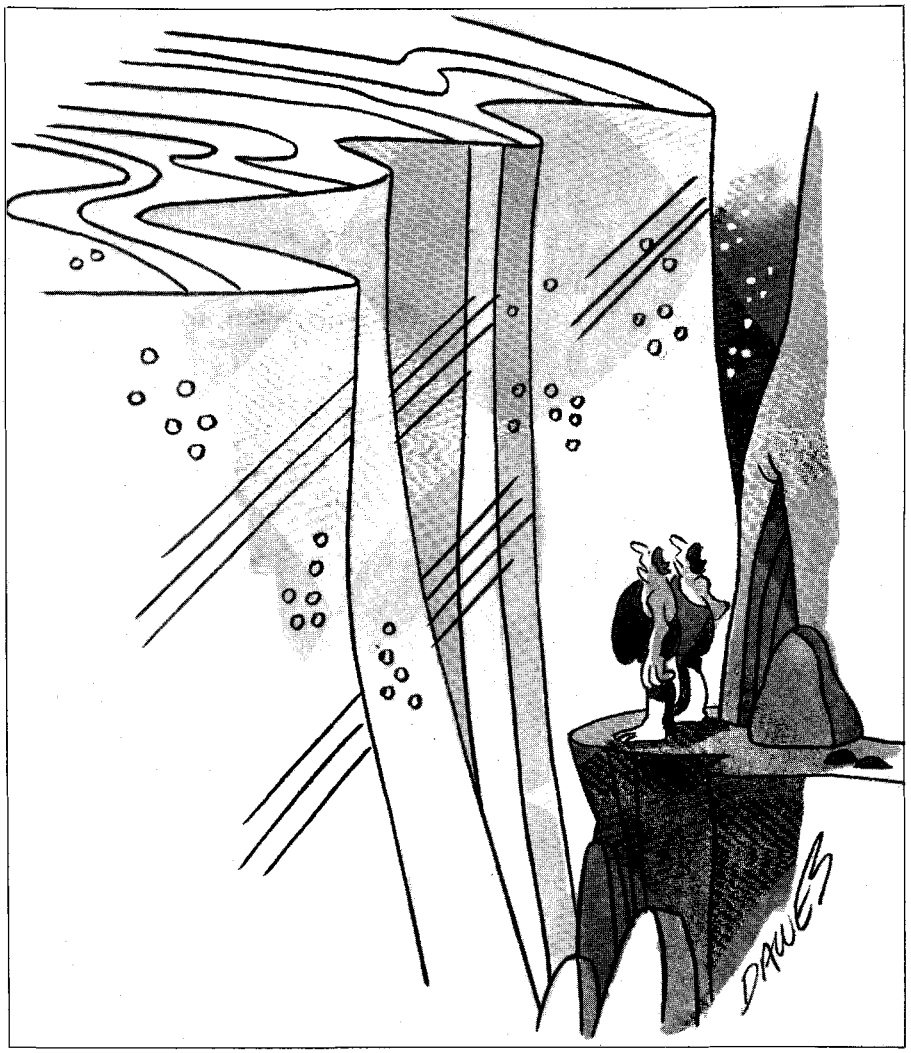
The Legal Morass—Meanwhile, the most important *true* unfair trade practice—infringing rights to intellectual property—is an issue repeatedly botched by our courts. Rather than arranging semiconductor cartels, the U.S. government might exert itself to solve the crucial problem of U.S. firms: maintaining their claims to inventions in Japan, where the patent office—as far as U.S. applications are concerned—chiefly functions as an instrument of industrial espionage.

The Futility of Trade Embargoes—For a conservative Administration, one of the hardest lessons to learn is the futility of government economic campaigns against Communism. Endlessly capricious boycotts, embargoes, secrecy regulations, and red tape designed to keep technology from the Communists change the international arena from a reasonably free market into a murky domain of politics, barter, bribery, and theft in which only Communists and socialists can thrive. The only way the Pentagon can keep most technology from the Soviets is to stop it from being created or sold at all. That seems, much of the time, to be U.S. policy. Except for military codes and key weapons systems, technology consists not in static things that can be protected but in dynamic processes that thrive in freedom.

The only way nations can increase wealth and power in the current age is by attracting it: by opening their borders, lowering their tax rates, emancipating their workers and entrepreneurs, deregulating enterprise, promoting education and research, protecting property rights, and fostering free movement of money, goods, and men. These are the real indices of competitiveness.

What matters in international economics is not the exchanges of particular goods but the entire fabric of international intercourse in goods, services, ideas, people, and money. The chief danger to the world economy today is that in pursuit of an utterly spurious balance of trade, this vast fabric of exchange will be wrenched and torn—that global trade volume will be sacrificed in an effort to achieve national trade balance.

With the International Monetary Fund traveling the world to impose austerity programs on poor countries that import too much, and with European nations deflating their economies to achieve trade surpluses, equilibrium has become the depressant drug of choice among international economists and politicians. If they succeed in their efforts, 1987 could be the year that the Grinch finally succeeds in stealing Christmas. □



"When we moved here, the view was terrific. But then the glacier came down, and that was that. We'd move, but I just finished some new wall paintings and, really, where are ya gonna find . . ."

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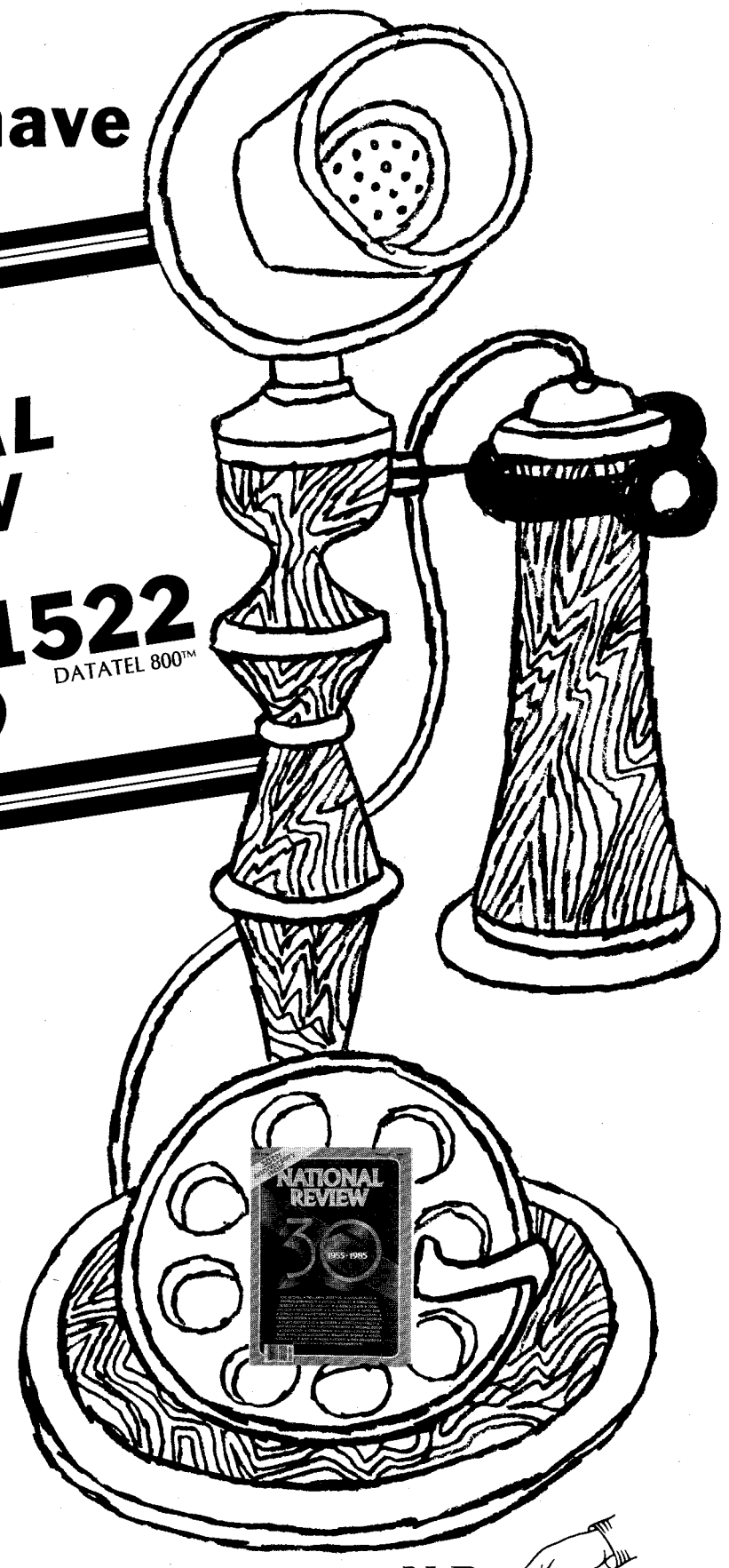

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THE UNRAVELING OF EUROPEAN EDUCATION

THE MASSIVE student revolts that took place late last year in France and Spain had, superficially, no ideological character. But deep down, the violent demonstrations had profound political and sociological implications. European education is facing an inevitable collision between quality and quantity.

American readers must bear in mind that, on the Continent, a student finishes his general education at roughly the age of 18: There are four years of elementary school, followed by eight or nine years of combined high school/college, ending with the baccalaureate. There is no college in the American sense, no undergraduate school: The universities are graduate schools, teaching one not how to live, but how to make a living. Once a young man or woman has a bachelor's degree, he or she has the right to take up graduate studies at any state university (there are practically no private universities in Europe). This means, in turn, that the high school/college (*lycée*, *Gymnasium*) has to be intellectually selective—elitist, if you will.

In my time, slightly more than 3 per cent of Austrians attended high school/college; today more than 10 per cent not only begin, but also finish successfully. However, there is no doubt in my mind that the requirements in my father's time were far stricter than in my time, and in my time stricter than in my children's time. My father, at the age of 18, had to take comprehensive examinations in *all* the subjects he had studied in the preceding eight years; at the same age, I had to write a minor dissertation. These hurdles no longer exist.

Nowadays, masses of students pass through high school/college, and almost all those with a baccalaureate want to go on to graduate school. But here arises a twofold problem. The universities are no longer able to absorb the onrush from the schools, and the professions are unable to absorb all the university graduates—even though at least half of those who enter the universities drop out. In Germany these problems have been largely solved. There the bachelor's degree (*Abitur*) no longer assures acceptance by the universities: Especially for medical school, an average of at least A-minus in the final certificate is required. But there is another, still unsolved, difficulty: High school/college standards vary in the federal states (*Länder*), being much higher in the "conservative" states than in the socialist ones, which lean toward American methods and systems. Thus the question arises whether the universities of Munich, Erlangen, or Würzburg will in the future accept *Abitur* diplomas from hotbeds of egalitarianism and Marxism like the high school/colleges of Hesse and Bremen.

France and Spain tried to solve the problems of their graduate schools by following the German pattern, but the student revolt in France caused the Chirac government to back down. The demonstrations in Paris were followed seven weeks later by a clash between the police and protesting students in Madrid, where the (Socialist) government had issued laws making entrance examinations obligatory for acceptance at a university.

Among the parties of the Left there is a distinct tendency to make education not only free to qualified students (which is perfectly all right), but also easier and easier, thus eventually robbing it of its prestige. In addition, the Left has a deep-seated bias against the classical branch of studies in the high school/colleges, which is—rightly or wrongly—considered more difficult than the scientific branch.

High standards allegedly retard the advancement of the lower social layers. Here another double problem appears. With low standards the highly gifted or assiduous students will get a rather meager chance to develop their talents, their knowledge, their dedication. Yet, high standards *can* be considered socially discriminatory, because natural gifts and talents are more often found in the upper social layers.

THE BIGGEST investigation of intelligence was made after the last war in Lower Saxony, a *Land* of the Federal German Republic, where a quarter of a million children were tested by a large team headed by Karl Valentin Müller. The differences between the various social layers were found to be amazing, and it became evident that they applied equally to "native" and to refugee children, who frequently lived in squalor and misery.

Statistics, of course, make no pronouncements on individual cases: One finds stupid princelings as well as very bright children of unskilled workers. However, nurture alone does not explain the difference. Higher social status, after all, is mostly the result of intermarriage between achievers, of a selection process in the evolutionary sense. On the Continent, social mobility has always been much greater than Americans assume.

Everybody realizes that something must be done to prevent the waste of good brains that results from holding back the highly talented. European education is furthering the rise of an academic proletariat, of hordes with academic degrees but no chance to make use of their modest knowledge—while, on the other hand, there is a dearth of skilled workers. A lopsided society is certainly not desirable, but that is precisely what we are going to get. □

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Gentlemen:

This isn't a letter to the editor, I just wanted to tell you that National Review has been a surprise to me. I got my first copy on a newsstand when I saw Solzhenitsyn's name on the cover. I was only vaguely aware of what National Review was because I read Bill Buckley but of course I knew Solzhenitsyn. Then I read your article on Howard Beach by Joseph Sobran (NR March 27) and I thought that was pretty good too. Anyway I ended up reading the whole thing and subscribing. Now I wish I had known about it before because you really do have a different point of view from my usual stuff. I admit I don't agree with it all, but it is different and I like the funny items and appreciate the Buckley columns which I don't see very often anymore in the [Washington] Post (and when they do run them they look like they're only about half as long as yours anyway). Just thought I'd let you know that you're doing a good job, at least for a reader who spends most of his days glazed-eyed over government documents.

Jack Fowler
Washington, D.C.

We'll admit we don't get many letters like the above—nor does our new friend put the case for NR exactly as we would ourselves. Still, he makes a great point: NR *is* different, and it's well worth getting regularly. So if you don't yet have your own personal subscription, why not use the card facing this page now? It will bring you the next 15 valuable issues for just $17.95 (saving you a full $11.30 over the newsstand price). And *now* is the best time to have NR—during these crucial days of the Second Reagan Era, you shouldn't miss a single installment of NR's unique reporting and inside information.

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DANGEROUS GIFTS

H. W. Crocker III

The Triumph of the West, by J. M. Roberts (Little, Brown, 325 pp., $19.95)

ACCORDING TO J. M. Roberts, Western civilization "has become exactly what so many in the nineteenth century believed it ought to become: the first world civilization." How it accomplished this is the burden of Roberts's story.

Roberts sees two central myths "at the heart of the Western view of history. One is the idea that men are, in some sense, able to take charge of their destinies, they are autonomous. The other is the idea that history is meaningful because it has direction; it is going somewhere"—ideas compatible with the three great faiths of the West: Christianity, Marxism (a Christian heresy with some, theoretical problems about the autonomy of man), and Science.

When the West embarked on making history beyond its borders it was driven by more than a desire to spread the faith (though the Spaniards and the Franks were eager enough to smite the infidel) or a desire to trade (though that was there too). It was driven by a dynamic, striving, purposeful sense of adventure. As Roberts points out: "It was not just greed which made Europeans feel they could go out and take the world. The love of gain is confined to no particular people or culture. It was shared in the fifteenth century by many an Arab, Gujarati, or Chinese merchant. Some Europeans wanted more. They wanted to explore. The idea of dominating nature was already about in their culture . . . ; what could be a more immediate expression of it than getting a grip on the map, on the very surface of the globe itself."

The West came, saw, and conquered, and as it did so it took on certain duties and incurred certain costs. The duties came because the "West knew it was superior. This was what lay behind the nineteenth century's idealization of the way white men were expected to behave. They were expected to show confidence, courage, dignity because they represented a higher civilization." The costs were the delayed result of the West's spreading around its "dangerous gifts"—the ideas of nationalism, democracy, progress, human rights, and all the rest.

At first, these gifts were taken up with un-self-conscious admiration. When the British East India Company set up a college for Indians in 1823, it was the Bengalis who requested that its curriculum emphasize the teaching of the English language and European science; Mustafa Kemal (Kemal Atatürk) kept blackboards in various rooms of his palace so that he could instruct his visitors in Western ways; and, in 1895, a Parsee was elected to the British House of Commons as *Conservative* Member for Bethnal Green, N.E. (the same man "was also the translator into Gujarati of the Queen's book, *Our Life in the Highlands*").

Later, the West's rhetoric was to be turned against it. When Gandhi denounced the reimposition of wartime restrictions in India in 1919, he did so in terms of Western liberalism, accusing the restrictions of being "unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself is based."

And by now the West is used to being regularly assailed by, for example, Africans bellowing about pan-Africanism and African unity—"ideas which make no sense without a pre-existing concept of Africa. But Africa is a Western idea, a geographical notion originating in the thinking of Greece and Rome, and fully defined only in the modern era. Until Europeans took the idea to Africa, no African knew that he lived in a continent which could be thought of as a whole. No African knew he was an African, until his European schoolmaster told him so."

Though the West has retreated from its empires, its culture continues to destabilize non-Western traditions, its technology and science are still sought

David Brooks is Book Review Editor of the Wall Street Journal.

H. W. Crocker III is a writer and editor in Washington, D.C.

Donald Hall, poet and critic, is the author of Kicking the Leaves, Remembering Poets, *and, most recently,* The Happy Man, *published last year by Random House.*

Michael Liccione is completing his PhD in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught for several years.

Thomas P. McDonnell, former staff writer for The Pilot, *is currently a freelance writer in the Boston area.*

Alcestis R. Oberg is a regional semi-finalist in NASA's Journalist-in-Space Program and co-author of Pioneering Space: Living on the Next Frontier.

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out by even the most putatively anti-Western Islamic "republics," and the power of Western communications has given the West another tool with which to shape the world in its own image. The West has been so successful in this, Roberts writes, that "What seems to be clear is that the story of Western civilization is now the story of mankind, its influence so diffused that old oppositions and antitheses are now meaningless. 'The West' is hardly now a meaningful term, except to historians."

That appears, at first glance, to be an overstatement, but it is a tribute to the reverberating provocativeness of this book that, at second glance, one is constrained to say, "Hmm."

There is plenty to mull over in *The Triumph of the West*. In describing the colonization of Central America, Roberts, without saying so, proves that liberation theology is nothing new (from the start, the Church put itself on the side of the Indians against the *conquistadores*); he illustrates the Byzantine roots of Russia's Messianic impulse; and he tells us something we already knew, but have never seemed to fully understand—namely, that "Newton, Darwin, Marx, Mazzini, Tolstoi, Rousseau—all these and many more, whatever we may now think of them, have deeply marked the non-Western world. Their ideas are still at work out there. The West, on the other hand, owes nothing comparable to any non-Western figure since Jesus Christ—and when he died, of course, the West did not exist."

The West might be a flawed civilization, prone to a dangerous intellectual utopianism and a groundless faith in the perfectability of man, but with all that, and with the arrogance with which it has sometimes wielded its power, it should be recognized that the West's administrators, missionaries, and teachers brought "gentler standards of behavior toward the weak, the ideal of more objective justice, the intellectual rigor of science, its fruits in better health and technology, and many other good things. They spread progressive, humane aspirations about the world. In some places, the mere bringing of settled order was by itself an unquestionable good. They could also point, as time went by, to economic changes which brought new opportunities, longer lives, more comfort. And if they were very thoughtful, they might claim that the most valuable gift they brought was the implanting of the idea that willed change was possible."

The West, in this century, has lost much of its confidence and sense of mission. It has called many of its own principles into doubt. Roberts does not peer far into the future (he does not believe that is the job of an historian), and he is skeptical of moral judgments about abstractions, societies, and groups, but he does give a useful, vigorous, and intriguing look at the past that should provide the reader with a better understanding of what the term "Western civilization," with all its profound implications, really means. □

LIBERALISM, FIN DE SIECLE

David Brooks

Tales of a New America, by Robert Reich (Times Books, 290 pp., $19.95)

ROBERT REICH'S *Tales of a New America* could inspire a Democratic Administration in 1989 (if there is one) the way George Gilder's *Wealth and Poverty* inspired the first Reagan Administration. Reich has come to terms with high technology and with microeconomic reasoning. He acknowledges the perverse results of the Democratic obsession with compassion, un-

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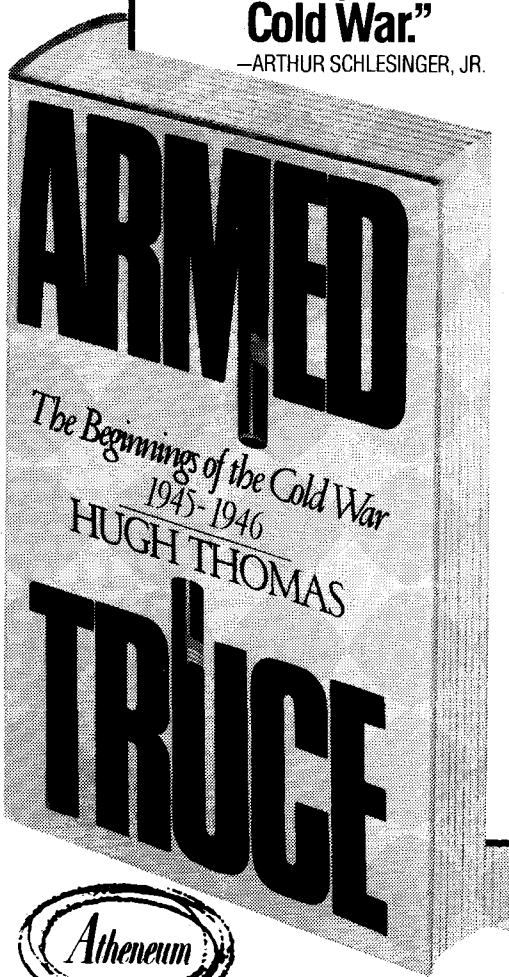

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derstands that capitalism is a system of compromises struck for the mutual benefit of buyer and seller, and wants to reconstruct American culture to put that model of mutual advantage at its center. What other liberal economist would write, "The American corporation was fast becoming the community-service agency of the 1980s. But unlike the older version, it was an agency with a direct financial stake in helping people to become more responsible for themselves," and see this development as a step forward?

Reich opens his book with a description of what he sees as the four fables that serve as the building blocks of American political ideas, and he describes the liberal and conservative interpretations of each. Reich has obviously studied Gilder and Murray, and his description of the conservative mind is so fair, I felt like applauding at the end of the chapter.

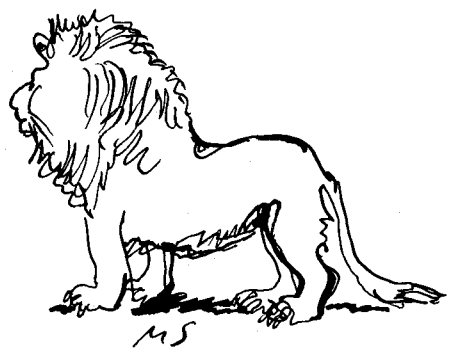
He is, in fact, kinder to the conservative image of the world than he is to the liberal image. His problem with both is that each relies on a set of oppositions: between management and labor, between free enterprise and government intervention, between the rich and the poor, between East and West, between North and South. Deep in his soul, Reich is a conciliator; he seems to abhor conflict. He argues that efforts unilaterally to exert one's will upon another inevitably backfire.

When it comes to economic matters, he is often right. The United States cannot radically redirect its monetary policy without throwing currency values out of whack and thereby disrupting world trade. Nationalism is playing a diminishing role in international economics. The distinction between American and foreign firms is becoming anachronistic. A Pennsylvania corporation might get capital from Japan, R&D from Germany, labor from Brazil, and marketing expertise from the United Kingdom.

The dichotomy between bosses and workers, the standby of the Old Left, is similarly blurred. The resource that enables rich nations to maintain their standard of living is the flexibility of their work forces. Hard work and any skill that can be taught in a government training program (and this is the best argument against such programs) can be duplicated and sold at a lower price by Third World workers.

Successful American firms induce their employees to develop know-how, as opposed to knowledge. Reich frets over the current process of product development: American scientists come up with exciting inventions. Japanese firms take these inventions and, through a thousand small refinements, develop them into marketable products, which they hire Americans to sell. The essential ingredient in that crucial intermediate step is know-how. Reich giggles over the way the Soviets steal our technology. By filching the answers to technological problems from us, the Soviets cut themselves off from developing the know-how to solve the problems themselves—as if they were chemistry students doing their homework by looking over their roommate's shoulder. The best way to ensure our technological superiority, Reich says, would be to leak our engineering coups to Soviet spies.

In the successful workplace there is less and less distinction between the brains of the operation and the brawn, between the bosses and the workers. Ford became the best domestic automaker by encouraging creativity on the part of its assembly-line workers; an hourly worker can stop the line if he spots quality problems. The 3M corporation allows its employees to spend up to 15 per cent of their time on independent projects. At GM's Saturn plant, workers are paid a salary, not an hourly wage. Creativity decisions are made at every level. Work teams elect their leadership. And 20 per cent of all income depends on productivity and profits.



Small and medium-sized companies rely on the product innovations of their workers even more. Software-design firms, architectural firms, even doctors' offices tend to conform to the model of what Reich calls collective entrepreneurialism. It is an inspiring step into the future, and Reich wants to encourage it.

But in the golden ascent to a collectively entrepreneurial society, companies run smack into the society we've already got, which is individually entrepreneurial. After a firm has invested in a worker and induced him to become creative, what is to keep him from breaking out on his own to set up a competing company? In Silicon Valley in 1985, a full third of the engineers left their companies, most of them to set up their own shops. Thus, firms have diminished incentive to invest in the skills of their workers, and creativity and innovation are retarded.

Reich argues that a culture that discourages such freelancing will be less prone to economic dislocation, while at the same time achieving greater levels of innovation, cooperation, and productivity. He wants us to be not Triumphant Individuals, but Loyal Teammates. In short, he wants us to be the Japanese.

"Current liberal and conservative variants of our core mythologies, both of them accepting the conventional borders between 'us' and 'them,'" he writes, "will gradually give way to new versions oriented to a subtler as-

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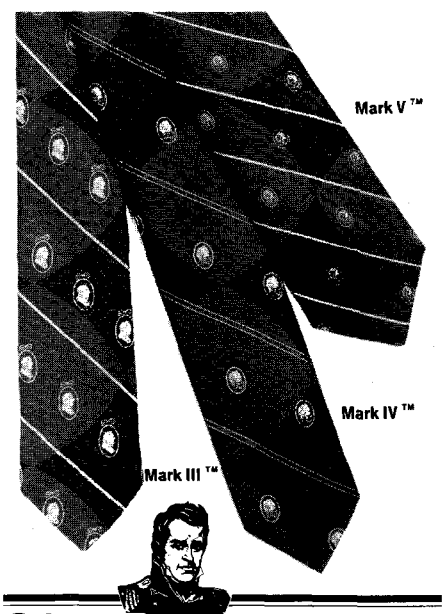

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sumption of interdependence. These new stories will speak less of triumph, conquest, and magnanimity, and more of the intricate tasks of forging mutual responsibility and enforcing mutual obligation. There will be fewer triumphant loners among the heroes, and more talented teammates and dedicated stewards."

The rhetoric is a standard Reich dodge: He sidesteps the debate about whether his vision of the future is preferable by shifting attention onto whether or not it is inevitable. He also avoids the monumental question of how a group of intellectuals from Harvard (where he teaches) is going to shift the 250-year-old American culture.

Reich's vision, filled with trendy high-tech phrases and generous borrowings from Japanese culture, is consistent with liberalism's basic discomfort with individualism. Still, I, for one, would prefer a new American liberalism aimed at collective entrepreneurialism to the old liberalism aimed at plain old collectivization. I will even forgive Reich for not noticing that human nature is too flawed to allow for a system built on trust and coordination. After all, if Reich were astute enough to grasp this truth, he wouldn't be worrying about constructing a viable Democratic philosophy. He'd be a conservative. □

SAMMLER'S COMPLAINT

Joseph Sobran

The Closing of the American Mind, by Allan Bloom (Simon & Schuster, 392 pp., $18.95)

IT'S FITTING that the foreword to this book should be provided by Saul Bellow. As the subtitle—*How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students*—suggests, it might have been called *Sammler's Complaint*. Allan Bloom thinks the American university has gone to hell, and he says so at a length that might be thought garrulous if he didn't say it so well.

And young readers might mistake his complaint for an old man's nostalgia, instead of seeing it for what it is: the protest of a philosophic memory

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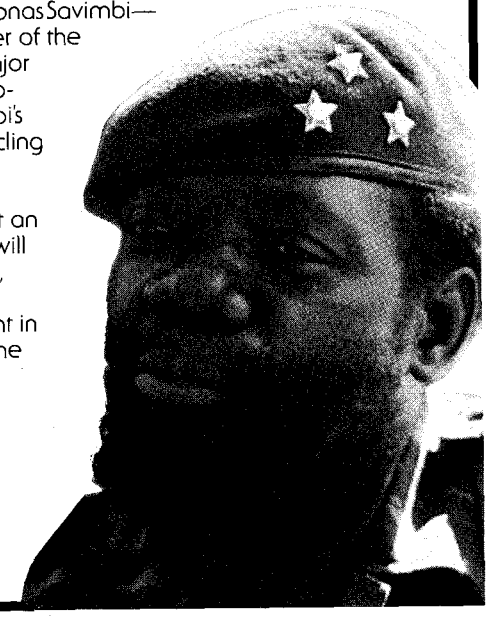

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ *AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome: Special Report* (Summit Research Institute, Manitou Springs, Colo. 80829; $6.95), by David A. Noebel, Wayne C. Lutton, and Paul Cameron, is now available in a revised and expanded edition, including 45 pages of new material at the back, updated material in the body of the book, and an evaluation of the surgeon general's (infamous) report on AIDS. (First edition reviewed in *NR*, "The Right Books," April 11, 1986.)

☐ More April Titles: *The Black and the Red: François Mitterrand and the Story of an Ambition* (Harcourt Brace, $19.95), by Catherine Nay, translated by Alan Sheridan, is a somewhat shocked account of the attempts to put himself in the Elysée Palace by a man who, though originally a strong rightist, determined that the "only single way . . . open to [his] ambition [was] that of the Left."

In *The Soviet Propaganda Machine* (McGraw-Hill, $22.95) Martin Ebon offers a study of *Pravda*—the flagship of Soviet journalism, now celebrating its 75th year—and suggests that rumors of "candor" and "liberalization" now issuing from the regime may be equally propagandistic.

The Closing of the American Mind (Simon & Schuster, $18.95), by Allan Bloom, attacks contemporary culture in its intellectual, social, sexual, and moral manifestations, which he traces back to Rousseau and the errors and superficialities of Enlightenment thought. He claims that rock-and-roll is "a barbaric appeal to sexual desire," argues that if black students associate mainly with each other it is chiefly because they want it that way, and dismisses Margaret Mead as a "sexual adventurer." (Reviewed in this issue.)

How I Grew (Harcourt Brace, $16.95), by Mary McCarthy, is complementary to the author's well-known *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood* and covers the period between her 13th year and her 21st, by which time she is graduated from Vassar and caught in a loveless marriage. —CW

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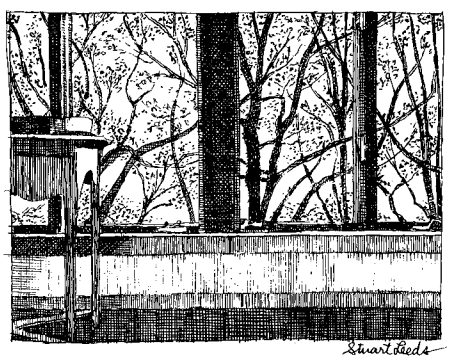
against the dethronement, which is to say the destruction, of philosophy. "Philosophy," he writes, "is no longer a way of life, and it is no longer a sovereign science."

The Bible is now taught "as Literature," and not just because of "secularization." Homer and Shakespeare are modestly offered as possible accouterments of the student's lifestyle, and Aristotle too is taught as Literature, in effect, rather than as a possible source of truth.

The "closing" of the American mind, at the university level, has occurred in the name of "openness." We don't believe in good and evil any more, says Bloom; only in "values." Ronald Reagan caught hell for calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire," but nobody yelled when he pointed out, in a more acceptable idiom, that the U.S. and the USSR "have different values." Bloom, making this observation, adds his astonishment (he's astonished that it isn't widely shared) that "there is now an entirely new language of good and evil, originating in an attempt to get 'beyond good and evil' and preventing us from talking with any conviction about good and evil any more. Even those who deplore our current moral condition do so in the very language that exemplifies that condition"—as in the pitiful squeak that what this country needs is some *values*. We deplore emasculating relativism in the rhetoric of an emasculated relativism.

> Vague insistence that without the humanities we will no longer be civilized rings very hollow when no one can say what "civilized" means, when there are said to be many civilizations that are all equal. The claim of "the classic" loses all legitimacy when the classic cannot be believed to tell the truth.

Bloom is perfectly situated to make his case. He is a philosopher who was where the action was: Cornell, 1969, when leftist terrorism shuffled the curriculum. The guns are gone, but the situation hasn't returned to normal: Higher education hasn't recovered from the Sixties, when it was hit by what Bloom calls "affirmative-action elitism"—a caustic bull's-eye if I ever read one.



Not that he blames the campus thugs for everything. They were spawned by the very conditions they so dramatically aggravated. They were only the outward and visible signs of an inner anarchy, the confusion and compromise of the modern academy.

It would be misleading to give the impression that Bloom's complaint is a long philippic against the philistine intellectuals who crowd the foreground. His mind is far too fine for that. And I won't venture to abridge his analysis. He has subtle bones to pick with modern philosophy, with Machiavelli, even with Socrates, but he never settles for denunciation, knowing that his main antagonists deserve respect, and that the contemporary university shares in the perennially precarious position of the philosopher (who may on occasion have to drink hemlock).

Still, he never wavers in challenging the myth of the Sixties as a time of creative ferment:

> The Sixties were the period of dogmatic answers and trivial tracts. Not a single book of lasting importance was produced in or around the movement. It was all Norman O. Brown and Charles Reich. This was when the real conformism hit the universities, when opinions about everything from God to the movies became absolutely predictable.

"Today," he adds, "there are many more things unthinkable and unspeakable in universities than there were [during the McCarthy era], and [there is] little disposition to protect those who have earned the ire of the radical movements." And again: "Racist and sexist were, and are, ugly labels—the equivalents of atheist or Communist in other days with other prevailing prejudices—which can be pinned on persons promiscuously and which, once attached, are almost impossible to cast off."

Alas, even direct quotation is misleading here: You may gather, wrongly, that Bloom is merely griping or settling old scores. In order to give a taste of his argument, I've skipped over many excellent insights along the way. A good review should try to give the reader a serviceable substitute for a book he may not get around to reading. In this case, that's impossible. This is a rich book, a topical book produced by a mind that has been equipped by a lifetime of reflective intimacy with the classics to observe

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the passing scene with remarks of more than passing interest.

Can anything fresh still be said about sex on campus? Yes, if you've kept your eyes on the current goings-on and your mind on the ancients. Which, as Bloom shows, is also the way to say fresh things about rock music, race, and democratic theory. He keeps up his end of the civilized conversation, but he's haunted by the fear that he may wind up talking to himself. He used to think the purpose of education was to teach people to think critically about their own prejudices, but now they come to college without any prejudices at all, a sign not of the open mind but of the vacant one.

> The mind that has no prejudices at the outset is empty. It can only have been constituted by a method that is unaware of how difficult it is to recognize that a prejudice is a prejudice. Only Socrates knew, after a lifetime of unceasing labor, that he was ignorant. Now every high-school student knows that. How did it become so easy? What accounts for our amazing progress? □

RUSH JOB

Alcestis R. Oberg

Challenger: A Major Malfunction. A True Story of Politics, Greed, and the Wrong Stuff, by Malcolm McConnell (Doubleday, 258 pp., $17.95)

AFTER EVERY great disaster, lawyers have a way of showing up. Unfortunately, so do publishers.

Doubleday's offering on the *Challenger* disaster is *Challenger: A Major Malfunction*. Its back cover screams: "For the first time anywhere, the shocking true story of the *Challenger* disaster." Included in the list of "first time" tidbits are the usual stereotypes of corporate-government conspiracies characteristic of the disaster-book genre.

Inside the covers, there is very little "first time" information. Twelve of the 14 chapters are a rehash of events leading to the *Challenger* disaster, heavily derivative of the Rogers Commission and congressional testimony (made public months ago) and of various newspaper and magazine articles. No one who has been following the story closely in the press will learn anything new. Seven chapters are accusatory in tone, two of them attempting to find the political and economic roots of the disaster in the early shuttle program—the congressional wrangling, the pork-barrel concerns, the impossible budgetary constraints, and the skulduggery of government procurement.

Malcolm McConnell is at his best when he sticks to the facts. His chapters reconstructing the day of the disaster and the few days leading up to it (about one hundred pages) are clear and direct, occasionally even sensitive. Even if it's a rehash, it's a good rehash, carefully pieced and meticulously retold.

The accusatory chapters are just the opposite. The major conspiracy chapter, delving into the purported impropriety of a NASA administrator from Utah awarding a large contract to a Utah corporation, is specious and argumentative, patched together from old newspaper accounts and old rival-contractor complaints instead of cautiously reconstructed from first-hand accounts of participants in the contract competition under discussion.

Another key accusatory chapter, "The Politics of Space Flight," is padded with fluff descriptions. It should have been a tough analysis of a very real problem: the politicization of NASA in recent years. Although the "space junkets" of Senator Garn and Congressman Nelson were hyped on the book jacket as one of the "disastrous" tidbits, only a few disappointing pages were devoted to those two truly scandalous events, focusing on, of all things, the inconvenience of re-manifesting the cargo. What about people who felt their jobs were threatened if they spoke out against Garn? What about the violation of contract with a major shuttle customer to make room for Garn? What about Garn's machinations to get on the shuttle, which was the first time in the history of space flight that a space seat was given as a *privilege*, and not earned through fair and open competition? Not a word is written or, presumably, known by the author, even though it's genuine grist for his mill and would help flesh out a major theme of his book.

One unsavory tendency in the accusatory chapters is to present the reader with one-dimensional, slanted,

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unverifiable portraits of the major "offenders" in the disaster, without any pretense toward balance or compassion, and without benefit of ever meeting these people face to face. In the chapter entitled "The Men from Marshall," McConnell pieces together a nasty portrait of William Lucas, the former Marshall Space Flight Center director, from an anonymous letter (signed "Apocalypse") and four anonymous "reliable" sources. McConnell was not the only one in the press who got a copy of the "Apocalypse" letter. In fact, most members of the media had it but refused to make it public for excellent journalistic reasons: It was anonymous, possibly libelous, and lacked verifiable facts. Nonetheless, McConnell quotes the letter as if it were the Bible.

Quite often he lets a sarcastic remark take the place of fact. In a short aside about the Soviet program, he proclaims the Soyuz-Salyut space-station system "primarily a military program, despite the shrill denials of Soviet propaganda." It would be easy enough to verify this statement rather than let the assertion stand by itself. Had McConnell done so, he would have found that, of the man-days on the Salyut program, only about 160 were devoted to military projects, while 3,500 were devoted to civilian projects—and he would have learned this from American experts who have absolutely no reason to love the Russians.

People who dream of going to Mars are branded as "swashbucklers," journalists who wish to go into space are accused of "dreaming of Pulitzers and Emmys," and the ideal of exploring space is branded a "myth." Name calling, nasty cracks, outrageous blanket generalizations, and unsupported judgments abound.

The book's major problem, though, is the rushed nature of its research. It takes hundreds of interviews and months of careful fact-collecting to tell the "true" story of a disaster like this one. In all fairness to McConnell, NASA has put every obstacle in the way of public information, so the task may take years in this case.

Had Doubleday been a little less eager to cash in on the publicity that would be generated by the *Challenger* disaster's first anniversary, McConnell could have delivered a better book, exploring his important themes: that the shuttle disaster was brought on by impossible budget and design constraints mandated by an ignorant and penurious Congress—and by a NASA bureaucracy grown careless of life and complacent about technology.

Unfortunately, McConnell's angry tone and biased presentation ultimately cause him to miscarry his purpose: to tell the "true" story. □

IDEOLOGUES OF IMMANENTISM

Michael Liccione

The Jesuits: The Society of Jesus and the Betrayal of the Roman Catholic Church, by Malachi Martin (Simon & Schuster, 525 pp., $19.95)

A WHOLE generation of Catholics has now grown up amid the turmoil in the Church sparked by the Second Vatican Council. Feeding the turmoil have been many Jesuits who, in their own minds, have spiritually come of age as theological dissenters and political revolutionaries. Older Catholics are still shocked, and the Church's enemies delighted, by a Jesuit whose self-proclaimed "ministry" is to defend sodomy (such as New York's John McNeill, who has just been expelled from the Society of Jesus at Vatican insistence) or to serve as a cabinet minister in a Marxist-Leninist regime (such as Nicaragua's Fernando Cardenal, who in late 1984 was expelled from the Society, at the Pope's personal insistence, when he refused to resign his post). Sad to say, McNeill and Cardenal are only rather egregious agents of views that are all too prevalent in the Society and other religious orders. Jesuits have become the vanguard of clerical opposition to the teaching and authority of the papacy.

If only for the tragic irony of it, the story of what has happened to the Jesuits merits full telling to the wider world. In many ways, Malachi Martin is the right man for the job. He was a prominent Jesuit in Rome just when the ferment was bubbling up, and though he left the Society during the Council in cloudy circumstances, he has not forsworn the faith of Peter and his successors. Drawing both on standard sources and on his many private contacts, he has churned out a

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characteristic mixture of highbrow journalism and popular history to convince us that the Society has become the opposite of what Ignatius of Loyola founded it to be. And even though I've been convinced of that for years, I found the story as Martin tells it immensely gripping.

As the popes' loyal and orthodox "Rapid Deployment Force," the Society was used with resounding and much-feared success in the past. Jesuits have reclaimed provinces from the Reformation, evangelized new ones all over the globe, educated the best and brightest of Christendom, advised and occasionally dominated rulers, and attained eminence in almost every field of intellectual endeavor. Martin evokes a sense of these accomplishments quite deftly; his treatment of Ignatius's life and spirituality, and of the true nature of Jesuitism, is moving, even lyrical in places. Here it matters not that he unearths nothing new. But the closer he gets to the present, the more evident, and deadly, do his sins against scholarship become.

His basic thesis is cogent, though he never acknowledges several other writers who have been saying much the same thing (e.g., James Hitchcock, in his devastatingly accurate *The Pope and the Jesuits*). Tracing the effects of theological Modernism on the Society, from George Tyrrell and his friends in the late nineteenth century through Teilhard de Chardin and his friends in the 1950s, Martin argues that a quiet surrender to secular, immanentist ideologies had been spreading through the ranks of the very company whose task had always been to beat the Church's cultured despisers at their own game. What looked in the Sixties like a sudden abandonment of the old certainties had really been under way for quite some time. So, by the time Pope Paul VI commissioned the Society at the Council's end to combat atheism—in both its intellectually explicit and its culturally implicit forms—Jesuits had become much more interested in humanistic psychology and social activism. At their 32nd General Congregation in 1974-75, the leadership adopted as the new "mission" of the Society a social-justice agenda that paid lip service to papal exhortations but amounted to promoting and apologizing for almost anything that calls itself socialism. Indeed, liberation theology, which holds that democratic capitalism is antithetical to Christianity and that Marxist socialism can embody it, is the theory of which a good deal of the Society's recent work is the practice.

Things had got so bad by 1981 that the Pope took the unprecedented step of replacing the duly elected father general, Pedro Arrupe, with an appointee. The current father general, Pietr-Hans Kolvenbach, was elected at the General Congregation that the Pope, assured that things would improve, allowed in 1983. By and large, things have not improved. One example: When Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, warned against liberation theology in a 1984 "instruction" approved by the Pope, a leading Jesuit, Juan Luis Segundo, quickly published a book rejecting that document. Segundo argues that the essentials of liberation theology are authentic developments of the social teaching of the Vatican Council, and that to criticize liberation theology is therefore to undermine the Church's teaching authority. Partly in response to such spectacular cheek, the Pope convened the Extraordinary Synod of 1985 to "clarify" the teaching of Vatican II.

Papist Jesuits (there are still a few left) will confirm the substance of Martin's account. But he struts through his material in such high polemical dudgeon that his eye sometimes fails him. For example, he falsely identifies the founder of liberation theology, Gustavo Gutiérrez, as a Jesuit; such a pertinent error can only cause disinterested readers to wonder how much evidence Martin is doctoring to make his case. Catholic *cognoscenti* may also note how Martin reconstructs a meeting the Pope once held with Curial redhats to discuss what to do about the Jesuits. The date is given as "the middle of spring 1981." Their Eminences are all named by their (shortened) titles rather than their proper names; the one named "Dottrina" is clearly supposed to be Ratzinger; but if the meeting is dated correctly, Ratzinger could not have been there—or at least not as the holder of that office, which he did not assume until months later. Perhaps only the date is wrong. In either case, one isn't reassured about Martin's penchant for describing, almost as though transcribing, key conversations to which he could not have been privy.

Such errors are the obverse of Martin's strengths: What would be convenient for his thesis if true is presented in the same appealing way as the truth; the spotty documentation, which lets the story flow smoothly, also leaves puzzling lacunae; imaginative flair sometimes turns into shameless embroidery. But the worst thing about these defects is that they will probably

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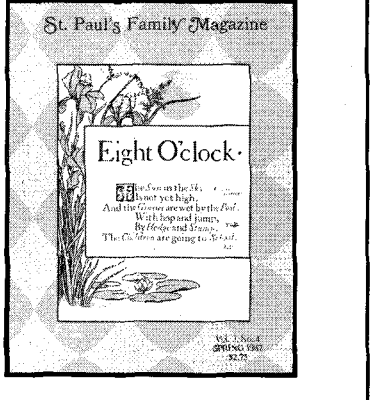

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let Martin's targets escape. Practiced in scholarly wriggling and dissembling, anti-papal Jesuits will gleefully point out that one too often can't tell just what in the book is factual and what is fanciful. And that will severely weaken its impact on the audience it is most important to convince: those infected by the Society's new outlook but not irrevocably committed to it. An important chance to control the damage the Society has wrought may thus be lost. □

THE POLITICS OF POETRY

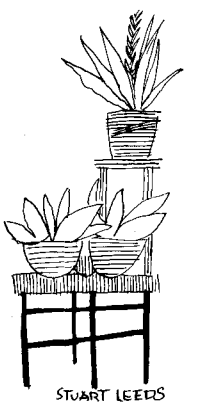
Thomas P. McDonnell

Robert Frost Himself, by Stanley Burnshaw (George Braziller, 342 pp., $19.95)

IT SEEMS at least perplexing how the notion arose that there is little or no relationship between so exalted a sphere as the art of poetry and the Realpolitik of human affairs. There are three aspects of the question that ought to be more fully explored: 1) the relationship of the poet to politics in general; 2) the often very fierce politics involved in the preservation of a poet's reputation, not only among his peers and rivals, but also with the public at large; and 3) the more abstract consideration of the relationship between what Charles Péguy called *la mystique* and, again, the Realpolitik of human affairs.

This last aspect would require an almost wholly separate treatment. The first two, on the other hand, may now be most clearly observed in Stanley Burnshaw's new and compelling study, *Robert Frost Himself*, which has to be read primarily as a revisionist tract correcting the theme proposed in Lawrance Thompson and R. H. Winnick's three-volume official biography, *Robert Frost*: namely that Frost was both a domestic and a social monster, rather than the wryly bucolic figure commonly revealed by the poet in his readings of the New England eclogues. Although the Thompson denigration has been acutely de-emphasized here by Burnshaw, and elsewhere by others as well, it is still helpful to understand something about the politics of a poet who was often more complex and disturbing than we had realized.

Politically, then, Robert Frost was a democratic conservative or, if you please, a conservative Democrat. But he had such an intense aversion (later mitigated) to Franklin D. Roosevelt and New Deal politics that one could never have called the Yankee pragmatist an upper-case Democrat as such, though he no doubt voted the top of the ticket when John F. Kennedy came along. He even predicted the Presidency of Kennedy and perceived in him the essential conservatism of the true New Englander, if not a national consciousness of the arts and the onset of a new Augustan Age.



Frost's wife Elinor was even more vehement in her—well, yes, one must admit—hatred of the Rooseveltian era than was the poet himself. He nevertheless held that the welfare state, long since institutionalized, would simply serve to "infantilize the individual" (Burnshaw). The perfect statement on this position may be found in one of Frost's finest poems, "Provide, Provide," to which he always added, after any public reading of it, "Or somebody else'll provide for yuh!" None of the other so-called political poems can match that famous admonition.

In this case, the politics of Robert Frost were hardly a mystery to anyone —except to the socialists of that period. Stanley Burnshaw himself had become an editor of the leftist magazine *New Masses*; and though never a member of the Communist Party, he was certainly a more than casual fellow-traveler. He discussed with Communist editors the dilemma presented by such political poems as Frost's "Provide, Provide," "To a Thinker," and especially "Build Soil." The Marxists went to incredible stretches of dialectical credulity in order to bring such poetry into their own orbit. They preferred to think of *North of Boston* (1914), for example, by its original title, "Farm Servants and Other People," because of its obvious—to them—proletarian ring. They were desperately trying to devise some way to turn the reputation of the greatest living American poet to their own Marxist purposes.

But it is in the politics of the poet's personal reputation that the struggle for dominance and justification still obtains to an incredible degree. In this regard, moreover, Burnshaw's book is already one of the essential texts. In it he capably refutes such absurd allegations as that Frost, as unofficial American laureate during the inauguration ceremonies for President John F. Kennedy, deliberately fumbled his reading materials at the lectern in order to gain national attention for himself. Burnshaw's book also provides perhaps the best account so far of the famous dinner party for Frost at the Waldorf-Astoria on his 85th birthday, when the critic Lionel Trilling, a Freudian, shocked the guest of honor by telling a dark truth about some of the poet's most carefully hidden themes. Curiously, the publisher Holt's original choice as main speaker for the dinner was then-Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Burnshaw, who by that time had become Frost's editor at Holt, reacted vehemently to this; when asked on the spot to suggest a replacement, he blurted out Trilling's name.

As far as the politics of literary thought may be concerned, the Emersonian Frost was a card-carrying naïf. In the century in which Frost himself had been born, he would not have had the slightest notion of what Emerson's deification of the Self had really signified. He would not have understood Allen Tate's observation, in the great essay on Emily Dickinson, that Emerson was the luciferous "light-bearer who could see nothing but light, as he was fearfully blind." It is a little embarrassing to have to recall that Frost rated Emerson's "Uriel" as "the greatest Western poem yet," thus consigning to the lower ranks such trifling things as *The Divine Comedy*, *Paradise Lost*, all of Blake, *The Prelude*, and *The Waste Land*. Indeed, in the politics of literary ideas, Frost had but the paltriest few himself.

Near the end of his life, however, Robert Frost came to appreciate almost to the full, at least in a philosophical sense, the profoundest possible idea in human history—the Incarnation. ("Then I saw it all," the poet said.) It remains touchingly ironic that when he tried in verse to formulate a statement on this inexhaustible reality, he settled upon a mode of three-stress jingles, in the tediously elongated poem "Kitty Hawk," that simply could not bear the

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grand immensity, let alone the exquisite intimacy, of this new and vibrant revelation. But he seems at last to have refuted Emerson in the bargain. In a lifetime of achievement, it was Robert Frost's noblest failure.

In the end, Burnshaw's greatest contribution remains the argument of his key chapter, "The Fabrication of the 'Monster' Myth," which just about devastates Lawrance Thompson's curious and ill-founded reversal of his earlier and more wholesome admiration of the poet. The irony in all this is that Frost himself was aware of the turn in Thompson's attitude, and at one point told Burnshaw, "I'm counting on you to protect me from Larry." Frost had an almost Whitmanian obsession about the promotion and upkeep of his own reputation. He would have been much better off if he had named as his official biographer someone given to a morally deeper understanding of the weaknesses and strains put upon our human nature. But it is enough for the moment that we should get rid of the "monster" myth, and for that we are all in the debt of Stanley Burnshaw's book. □

THE EGYPTIAN MANNER

Donald Hall

Every Force Evolves a Form, by Guy Davenport (North Point, 171 pp., $16.95)

When Kirkus describes Guy Davenport's essays as "elegant, brilliant (yet unobnoxious)," Kirkus puts its thumbish finger on something. These essays are obnoxious! If they were not obnoxious they would lose their charm. I suspect that this book will be thrown across more rooms than *Ancient Evenings* was. It's a tribute.

North Point Press invaluably keeps five volumes by Guy Davenport in print: Two are essays, two are fiction, and one is poems and translations. Not that Davenport draws the line at the art of literature; on the back flap of this book, we read, "Jacket illustration: Guy Davenport." If he turns out to play the fiddle, we shan't be the slightest bit surprised. Guy Davenport is a multiple conglomerate of talent and topic: He writes about poetry, anthropology (Levi-Strauss is a source), painting, Montaigne, cities, Joyce, architecture, Beckett, and Greek poetry.

In an epigraph he quotes Samuel Johnson: "I fancy mankind may come, in time, to write all aphoristically." We understand whom Johnson the Baptist prophesied. Davenport illuminates his leaps and connections by the aphorism. "A tree was as important a presence for Rousseau as an angel for Joan of Arc." One performance here dances on themes of the Douanier Rousseau, whom Davenport compares to Don Quixote. "And as with the Don," Davenport tells us, "Rousseau wins us over." Davenport hams a sandwich out of Rousseau's discrimination: "Rousseau's remark to Picasso, 'We are the greatest living painters, I in the modern, you in the Egyptian manner,' was absolutely accurate." As with the Don, or maybe the Volga, Davenport wins us over. He is our greatest Columbus of connections (bar Hugh Kenner, Davenport's mentor, well praised here), discovering continents that covertly join continents. Nothing human is alien to Guy Davenport. He *will* read everything, see everything, take everything in, *conquistador* of intellect—and set everything out in an order of resemblances. Three compounding lectures are central to this book —"The Artist as Critic," "The Scholar as Critic," "The Critic as Artist"— for Davenport is all these things. And whatever else he does, he always writes fiction.

Not everything he does is wonderful, even when obnoxious. Some pieces are reviews worth reprinting only for two sentences; I would excerpt the sentences and omit the reviews, leaving us with *The Wit and Wisdom of Guy Davenport.* He shows a predilection for meaningless lists: ". . . remember that iconography of doll, strawman, puppet in de Chirico, Eliot, Pound, Yeats, *Petrouchka*, Karel Capek, Jarry, Carrà, Ensor, Wyndham Lewis." Sounds like a good party. But if you don't prepare the slides, don't expect me to look in your microscope. Some of Davenport's connections are absurd, and his Saracens not even windmills, as when he tells us that Molly's "yes" returns us to the first word of *Ulysses*, which as he notes is "*stately*, in which its letters are distributed backward." Putting on one's Johnson-suit, one may suggest that from time to time Davenport lacks judgment and proportion. His ingenuity expends itself on terrible poems, especially by e. e. cummings. Davenport does not know that these poems are terrible; or is it that he doesn't care? Is my "terrible" a naïveté? Mr. Graves, you appear to believe that some poems are better than others.

In the wonderful title essay here, Davenport gives us a plot summary of "The Raven" without mentioning the noises that the poem makes. To summarize "The Raven"'s plot marries Davenport's charm to his obnoxiousness, for he begins the next paragraph, "Whitman's reply to 'The Raven' is 'Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rock-

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ing.'" Comparisons are invidious, says the comparativist; the jolt when unconnectables connect is a palpable jolt: But what do we accomplish when we connect newspaper verse with the greatest American poem? Maybe the connection is worth making precisely because of this disparity?

This title essay is so lively with thought's energy that it dances off the page; and its *form* is flexible, alert, innovative. One superb essay here—"Making It Uglier to the Airport"—lacks formal invention, but most of the best are original in their shapes. The Rousseau piece—"What Are Those Monkeys Doing?"—and the title essay both arrange themselves like Joyce's "Aeolus" with headlines or subheads interrupting the text: like Joyce, like a textbook, like the *National Enquirer*.

In his essay on Balthus, Davenport makes seventy paragraphs, count them, each ending in the fifth printed line. Word count, syllable count, and sentence count differ; the form is visual. The announcement it makes to the eye—these are the bricks of my construction—is as semantic as any sentence. □

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

In *The Big Sleep*, Raymond Chandler's first novel, Philip Marlowe has to do with Carmen Sternwood, a nymphomaniac who shoots men dead while hissing through her teeth when they fail to succumb to her provocative trick of dropping her eyelids until "they almost cuddled her cheek," and then raising them again, "like a theater curtain." "That," Marlowe remarks, "was supposed to make me roll over on my back with all four paws in the air." Somewhat similarly, Mikhail Gorbachev, a gangster who does not even have the excuse of uncontrollable sexual passion, has been batting his lashes and doing aren't-I-cute? routines for a year and a half, with the result that—what? Why, the women (and men) of the Western media roll over with all four paws in the air. What else would you expect them to do?

Gorbachev's latest attempt at cuteness uses arms control (he's for it!) as its ploy. Another uses "democratization." A more long-standing one is fashioned around a *moue* suggestive of the sultry notion, "economic reform." He's for that, too. In a speech delivered in July 1986, the Soviet leader announced: "Neither the working class, nor the peasantry, nor the technical intelligentsia, nor the creative intelligentsia—nobody wants to live any longer in the old way, to put up with what has outlived its time and slows our development." In the West, liberals and fellow-travelers go nuts: Marx, Lenin, and Stalin are being vindicated at last, their dreams realized. In the East, nobody says much. They're hard-boiled as a Depression-era Los Angeles shamus back there. So is Gertrude Schroeder, author of *The System versus Progress* (The Center for Research into Communist Economies, c/o 2 Lord North Street, London SW1P 3IB, England; £3.50 [$5.60]), number two in the State of Communist Economies series. (The CRCE, which considers itself an international institution, has preserved the American spellings and style of the author, a professor of economics at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.)

A fact of which there can be no doubt whatever is that the Soviet "economic mechanism" (in the current jargon of Soviet economists) is in at least as bad shape as the New York City "infrastructure" (in the jargon of American economists), although it has not been in place as long—a mere 59 years, to be exact. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, economic growth patterns for the U.S. and the USSR suggested that, by the end of the twentieth century, the Soviets would overtake the Americans in total GNP. Instead, the Soviet economy—which has grown more slowly in each decade since the 1950s—has manifestly failed to narrow the gap, so that, since 1975, the Soviet annual statistical handbook has posted total Soviet net material product as 67 per cent of the U.S. product (taking care to make the comparison using *1970* figures). The primary cause of this retardation of growth is, Professor Schroeder insists, the sluggishness of technological innovation in the Soviet Union, whose economic system was designed for what she calls "forced-draft industrialization"—a process poorly suited to the efficient use of natural and human resources, and one that has produced, among other results, increasing costs for the exploitation of natural resources, the slowed expansion of the Soviet labor force, and a faltering rate of increase of investment. If this general economic slide is not reversed by the end of the century, the Kremlin will find it difficult to continue to raise levels of consumption at home, maintain military equilibrium with the West, and uphold its international standing (in other words, bully, sabotage, subvert, and destroy on an international level).

The situation and its implications are understood by many Soviet economists and policymakers and, clearly, by certain of the country's top brass. One Abel Aganbegyan (an economist, and now a semi-official advisor to Gorbachev) gave warning in 1965 of dangers present and future; the same year, the so-called Kosygin reforms were instituted in an attempt to make the economy more efficient. Twenty years later, the net effect of a "ceaseless search for panaceas" is, in Professor Schroeder's opinion, "an economic system that . . . is more highly centralized [and presumably less efficient] than ever." "Their basic objective was to induce Soviet firms to behave like firms in a market economy, that is, to be innovative, to strive to produce at least cost, and to cater to consumer wants, while still keeping those socialist firms firmly enmeshed in the institutional arrangements of the centrally planned economy. This is like trying to square the circle."

The problem, of course, is patent: Whether or not anybody "wants to live any longer in the old way," the fact remains that, as Professor Schroeder concludes, there has been, so far, no constituency for real economic reform in the Soviet Union. Everybody, it seems, has too much to lose: The *nomenklatura* its privileges, the workers their security, the purists their ideology. For Professor Schroeder, the impasse appears to offer no exit, though Philip Hanson, of the University of Birmingham, suggests in his introduction that a step-up of discipline might be able to keep the economy domestically acceptable and militarily competitive. But it is virtuous to hope. □

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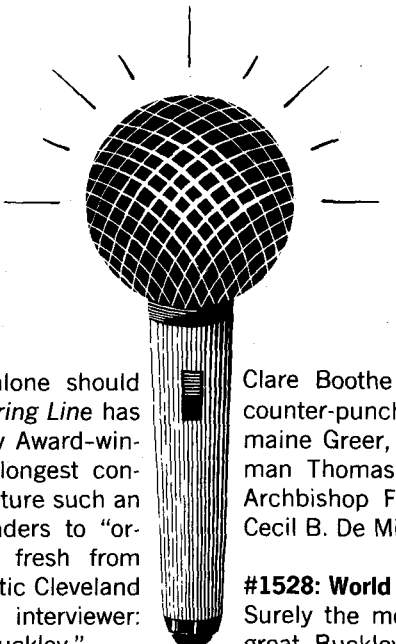

. . . and we'll keep it brief—the facts alone should convince you to act. Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s *Firing Line* has celebrated its 20th Anniversary. This Emmy Award-winning "talk show" is not only one of the longest continuous TV programs but the *only* one to feature such an amazing variety of guests, from world leaders to "ordinary" Americans like a young Marine fresh from Vietnam (he's now Colonel Oliver North). Critic Cleveland Amory (in *TV Guide*) once voted: "Best interviewer: William Buckley. Best interviewee: William Buckley."

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THE GIMLET EYE

A MEDITATION AFTER EASTER

D. Keith Mano

And he said unto them, Behold, when ye are entered into the city, there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house where he entereth in.

And ye shall say unto the goodman of the house, The Master saith unto thee, Where is the guestchamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?

And he shall show you a large upper room furnished: there make ready.

—Luke 22: 10-12

THERE IS A strange agency at work here. The Scripture might be haunted. That pitcher-bearer. This goodman. They spook me. Who are they, what special order of grace do they belong to? And, elsewhere, those men who surrender the colt "whereon yet never man sat." Nameless, equivocal shapes. "Hey," they shout, "why loose ye the colt?" The Lord has need of it, His disciples explain. Oh, well. In that case. Why didn't you say so? Take our expensive animal. And has their free will been taken also? It is as if a casual, weird cast of accomplices inhabited Jerusalem. Men or suchlike who know, often better than fumbling Peter or over-literal Thomas, just how to ornament the Passion.

Were they perhaps made of some angelic stuff? I don't think so: it is the Lord's habit, thank God, to enlist men wherever convenient. He has an economical disposition. And Man was, after all, what this grand enterprise had been about from the first. But how then did Jesus, so to speak, make His room reservation in advance? Were these men sensitized by dreams? Did the Holy Spirit, foraging like a quartermaster sergeant, requisition their possessions through sign and vision? It is possible. The Lord had been known to trouble sleep. "And being warned of God in a dream . . ." Was there fitfulness before the Passover?

Again, I think not. God prefers, when He can, to conserve terrestrial order. He has a dramatic instinct. And His own peculiar unities. The Passion is as naturalistic as frail wrist tissue shredded by a spike. Jesus could ferment water. He could infinitely divide the loaf and the fish. But here He had need of a furnished apartment. His colt might have come about providentially, as Abraham's ram came about, caught in some thicket. But God wanted a known colt: one that had memorable references in Jerusalem. It was His purpose to leave a clear and historical track behind—evidence that might stand up in court. The presence of transcendent power among modest instruments is more persuasive than any bullying miracle could be.

I suppose it this way, then. That these—pitcher-bearer and goodman and colt-owner, these first acolytes of the Eucharist—were men given sudden and heightened perception. An abrupt seeing into. Spirit came upon them as Jesus came upon Matthew sitting at the receipt of custom: "Follow me. And he arose, and followed Him." Simply that. NEXT WINDOW PLEASE. We are so habituated to reason and a precious carefulness that Christ's people seem, well, irresponsible. But grace is first the law-breaker. It can be brutal: "Let the dead bury their dead." Brutal and rash and unfair. Because there is no ground whatever for believing that these were righteous men. They didn't earn their cameo roles in the Passion through good work. I suspect they were chosen rather for an *openness* to potential. They were, above all, ready men.

Simon of Cyrene, recruited by grace and some Roman to lug Jesus' cross, is my paradigm in this. He had, it would seem, no previous experience for the work. No moral credentials that we hear about. Just a man "who passed by, coming out of the country." To trade, to sightsee, to window-shop: another tourist in the Big Fig. And, all at once, he is absorbed by that rubbernecking mob. Elbow to the front—what have we here? And it's you, yes you, Bozo, pack that wood. We know nothing about Simon, except that his children, Rufus and Alexander, became Christians. On Good Friday, Simon was what we all are, a passerby. And shanghaied by the Holy Spirit. I take comfort in this thought, whose life otherwise does not much recommend itself to God. That I may be granted, through His fierce randomness and my mere availability, a walk-on moment of redemption.

Return to the Passion now. Imagine, say, a man in his workshop room alone. For best effect, I'd fancy him preoccupied: revising some device of his craft, in thought, whatever. Suppose it hot and ordinary out. Then, all of one rush, as weather can change, there should be an importance in the air. Let that cheap pitcher interpose itself across his attention here. For this instant it should have more *pitcherness.* The way common objects astound and please when we are full of joy. This is, you know, not his regular time to fetch water in. But the thought of "pitcher," the very surprising idea that *it can hold water*, contains aptness and fascination for him. It has been *infused* by grace. And he rises at a call—not from God as such, nor from any impending event—but to honor the perfect nature of one created thing. There is elevation all around.

Returning from the well he happens upon two men. After that, unaware, they will become a procession of three.

It is not through war and celebrity that God has most advanced His will. It is through the commonplace: room, colt, manger, fisherman—thunderous Easter, atrocity and miracle, are prepared for in them. Open a window. Pick up anything. Inhale. These are moments and incidents without moral import except for this: that reverence and special shining can inhere. We are admonished to be alert. And certainly we have lost just that measure of openness and heightening and expectation. This is, I suspect, what those shadowy men are about. If they didn't know, they felt, felt at some proper instant, that even in the filling of a pitcher one might lead great strangers to magnificence. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

End Papers, by Breyton Breytenbach (Farrar, 270 pp., $16.95)

BREYTON BREYTENBACH is a South African novelist (*Mouroir*) and memoirist (*The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist*) now in exile in Europe. The present volume is a potpourri of essays, notebook jottings, letters, aphorisms, items that he seems to consider poems, and other miscellany. The real subject of all this is

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less South Africa, which of course he hates, than his pervasive disgust with just about everything. The rhetoric of loathing has become one of the clichés of twentieth-century literature; you are supposed to understand that the writer is such a sensitive fellow that the rudeness of reality disgusts him. But you have to prove your sensitivity by *writing* well, and Breytenbach cannot even begin to bring this off. He is not a sensitive soul but a *poseur*, trying to play catch-up ball with Céline. Here he is in a 1982 press conference at de Gaulle airport: "Then you and the lady were piloted to a reception area, the doors were thrown open, and in barged the squawking journalists, stretching their scrawny necks, shaking their heavy wings into place, cleaning their strong hooked beaks on the microphones." He is disgusted that the French intellectuals have "swung right," that "there was no more student activism," and that "the Social Democrats in power ultimately had preciously little in common with Socialism." (Poor bourgeois Mitterrand, unable to rise to the purity of "Socialism.") But, give him credit, Breytenbach does get around. In 1984 he receives the Hertzog Prize and writes to accept it. Just listen to this prose: "I have just now learned that the Hertzog Literary Award for this year has been given to Henriette Grove and myself. I should like to express my gratitude to the jury members who, so it would seem, weighed up my work—and I want to insist that I accept their decision as having been arrived at through personal literary penchants." His ventures into political analysis are equally disastrous: "The Third World, whose only vested interest for so long has been physical survival and whose vested interest for the present and future must be the freedom of real independence and the freedom to forge revolutionary cultures from old fertilizer and new seed, must take its rightly place on the world scene." Of course, Breytenbach strikes the usual cliché poses about nuclear weapons: "To concretize this realization you must even without having to go into opposition, pull the plug from the ruling classes' bath of holy water." Breytenbach has a low opinion of freedom as we actually experience it in Western society: "Freedom of expression in bourgeois societies where the writer is at best considered to be an entertainer, is a hollow concept." (Yeats? Eliot? Mann?) We come upon something called "Notes . . . Toward a Strategy for Revolution in South Africa," and here's the Breytenbach Program: "I move from the premise that our ultimate objective is a Socialist South Africa and that that society, when one can envisage a 'new man' who can come into being only once his social environment has been transformed by Socialist economic structures, that society which will abolish exploitation and discrimination, can be constructed only after a taking of power by those who genuinely represent the workers and the peasants." Breytenbach can't write. He can't think. I don't blame the South Africans for wanting him out of the neighborhood, but what excuse is there for Farrar, Straus & Giroux?

JEFFREY HART

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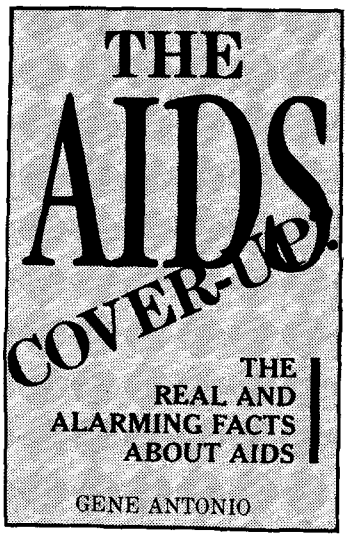

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ABM MUST GO

NEW YORK, MARCH 20

THE RECENT behavior of Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia dismays many of his admirers. He has for several years been acknowledged as the successor to the late Henry Jackson in matters relevant to the national defense. He is bright and informed. For a time, unhappily very brief, it was thought that Senator Moynihan might carry the torch for those who a) understand the need for defense, b) understand the metaphysics of disarmament, and c) understand the Soviet Union. Moynihan departed for other pastures, and Sam Nunn stepped in and is fast engaged in stepping out. His raillery against the broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty is glaringly the case in point. He brings to mind the charming excommunicate who said of his clerical order: "The Jesuits score from the exaggerations of their opponents. Accuse them of killing three men and a dog, and they will triumphantly produce the dog alive."

Why, why are we spending so much time on the question of which is the historically sanctioned interpretation of Agreement D, as executed in 1972 when we signed the ABM Treaty with the Soviet Union? All our attention is being devoted to a question of purely eristic interest. Judge Abraham Sofaer, legal counselor to the State Department, wrote an opinion to the effect that obviously the "broad" interpretation was the one intended by the participants at the time. Now he says that he was under-informed historically when he wrote that opinion, though he still stands by his conclusion. Sam Nunn comes in and says the opinion is irresponsible; and then levels his machine gun at the White House and tells Mr. Reagan that if he proceeds to act on the basis of the broad understanding (which would permit us to go forward in our SDI/Star Wars research and testing, using "exotic" technology not available at the time the ABM Treaty was signed), he will bring on a constitutional crisis. Senator Nunn's point is as simple as that although the President negotiated the treaty, the Senate confirmed it, and therefore it is a joint creation. From which, he says, it follows that a change in the reading of the treaty requires the concurrence of the Senate.

But one hears less and less of the only transcendently important question. It is: Do we desire to proceed with the Space Shield? The President is heart and soul in favor of doing so, and so are the American people, to judge from the polls. If this is our policy, what are the legal impediments? Answer: The ABM Treaty if very formally construed. But there are two ways to deal with the ABM Treaty that have nothing whatever to do with the broad or the narrow interpretation. The first is to say to the Soviet Union: You have violated the treaty by, among other, less palpable transgressions, your huge radar plant at Krasnoyarsk. By the laws of nations dating back to before breaking a treaty was a gleam in the eye of Ivan the Terrible, that means the treaty is null and void, and tomorrow morning we will burn it in the fireplace of the Oval Office.

That would be one way to do it, appealing to those who believe that there is always a point in dramatically drawing attention to the perfidies of Soviet behavior.

The second way is to say: The treaty *grants to both signatories the right* to rescind upon serving six months' notice. Six months begins tomorrow at dawn. That means that as of the Ides of September, nobody going on and on about the broad construction versus the narrow construction versus the in-between construction will be talking except as one might debate which side was truly responsible for breaking the Peloponnesian détente.

Why does Sam Nunn, of all people, belabor the trivial, the irrelevant? There is great damage done in this, because the American public is little by little being made to think of the ABM Treaty as central to the cause of peace. We hear references to the treaty made in a tone of voice appropriate perhaps to discussing the First Amendment, or even the First Commandment. The First Amendment no one wishes to repeal, and the First Commandment no one has the power to repeal. But the ABM Treaty the President has the right—legal, moral, and empirical—to repeal, but every day, in every way, he is making it harder and harder for himself. Why Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger don't force the point is infinitely more interesting than why they didn't derail the Iranian fiasco, which, alongside the future of SDI, is nothing. The treaty should be repealed. Or if it is to be rewritten, okay: but the new version, which would presumably permit the Soviets to go on cheating, should permit us to take defensive measures against their doing so. □

THUNDER OVER BRITAIN

NEW YORK, MARCH 27

THE LABOUR PARTY in Great Britain is in a most awful uproar. The triggering thunderclap was the by-election in Greenwich on February 26. Not only did Labour lose a safe seat, it lost it to the Alliance, which is to Labour what Martin Luther was to Pope Leo X. The British set great store by their by-elections. It is supposed not only that they indicate the national mood, but that they tend to generate the momentum of the army on the march. And today the Conservatives are rated five points ahead of Labour, having for a good long time suffered the indignity of being behind Labour in the polls.

There are several reasons for what is going on, but primary among them, of course, is the unilateral-nuclear-disarmament stand of the Labour Party, enthusiastically embraced by its leader, Neil Kinnock. Not only is there that problem—the universal impression that, under Labour, Britain would destroy NATO—there is the problem of the Trotskyist Left within the Labour Party, where cuckoo-land reigns.

But even as there is in Labour the insane Left, there is the incensed Right, which is to say old, old socialists who really do not relish finding Great Britain in a situation in which in effect it does what the Soviet Union tells it to do, and the

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latest fracas between establishmentarian Labour and the sane remnant took place (there'll always be an England) in a tea room. There James Callaghan had a forensic shootout with senior MPs who were sore as hell about Callaghan's speech in Parliament that afternoon, in which Callaghan had said that England should not give up its nuclear deterrent or its Trident submarine "for nothing."

Those who overheard the shouting transcribed the following excerpts:

PRESCOTT (John—Labour's employment spokesman): You have done it again. Two elections in a row. Snookered us again. [Callaghan had said the same thing in the 1983 election.]

CALLAGHAN: If you had listened to me on defense you wouldn't be where you are now.

PRESCOTT: Haven't you heard of the election? [And, walking away:] Leading us like lambs to the bloody slaughter.

An effort has been made to repudiate James Callaghan, less than easy given that he was the leader of the Labour Party for three years. And of course the Conservatives poured as much salt as they could gather in the wound. Conservative speaker after speaker got up and congratulated Callaghan on his uncommon good sense, as if to say, "Isn't it a pity that we don't have a responsible man like you leading the opposition?" Neil Kinnock has said that unity is absolutely essential, which is true, the difficulty being that the majority of the British people do not want unity behind an insane position.

But there is in prospect more merely than the likely defeat of Labour in the next election. There is growing opposition to one of those disarmament lovelies now fascinating us. It is a very long way to travel between the informal approval Mr. Reagan has given to the Zero Plus One Hundred Option—which is the hot thing on the griddle right now in Geneva—and the consummation of a treaty.

But the British, and other Europeans who simply decline to believe that the United States would fire its intercontinental ballistic missiles at Moscow in retaliation for an invasion of Western Europe by conventional forces, are frankly worried. John Keegan, the London *Daily Telegraph*'s defense correspondent, reflects the mood well, and says flatly, "There is little evidence at the moment that the Gorbachev initiative will benefit Britain or Europe." He takes just a minute to summarize the conventional-force imbalance. "They have more men on the ground and many more men in reserve close at hand and not, like America's, far away. Their tactical air forces outnumber NATO's by 2 to 1. Their artillery is more powerful by the same factor. Above all, their tank fleet, still the best crude index of offensive potential, is three times as large, and the bulk of it is concentrated in a cutting wedge opposite the most 'tankable' terrain in the central region."

He then reminds us that the Zero Plus One Hundred Option pays scant attention to the versatility of residual theater nuclear weapons. And the clincher: "Moreover, the SS-20, even if withdrawn behind the Urals, as was nearly agreed at Reykjavik, has range enough to hit the central region—including London—from that location." By contrast, NATO's remaining missiles would mostly reach only into Eastern Europe.

What should England ask for? A summary: Zero zero zero zero. That means: A reduction in offensive strength, one-for-one nuclear—and one-for-one conventional. If we stick by that, Europe will be safe. Otherwise, there should be no treaty. □

PASSION AMONG IVYPERSONS

NEW YORK, MARCH 30

IF ONE WERE to ask, What are the young people who run the *Yale Daily News* majoring in? the answer would surely be, Toleration. So engrossed are they in the subject that probably they would not answer the question, What is your minor?—because the word minor is too close to the word "minority," and those who major in Toleration can't risk suggesting that there is anything minor about minorities.

The purpose of the endless drive toward equality ought to be a relaxed sense of security. But the seizure of equalitarianism has exactly the opposite effect. One thinks of women at Yale University, for example, as pretty well secure provided they do not insist on using men's urinals: but they are being so frequently reminded of their insecurity that they become convinced of it.

A recent communication from the editor-in-chief of the *Yale Daily News* (H. Andrew Romanoff signs himself "Andrew," as his imperial Russian ancestors might have done) is addressed to former editors of the *Yale Daily News*, and details "several projects" in which the board is engaged. It comes to the board's Major:

"At the same time, though, we recognize certain problems the *News* has had. Foremost among them is the threat of prejudice. To eliminate any discrimination in our paper or in our staff, we created a special panel, initiated discussions, and scheduled meetings with the leaders of different campus cultural groups—The Asian American Student Association, The Black Student Alliance at Yale, Despierta Boricua (a Puerto Rican group), and the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (a Mexican-American group). We plan to meet soon with the Gay/Lesbian Co-op. . . . We will maintain an unswerving dedication to fairness, and I will do everything in my power to ensure that these efforts continue."

Thirty years ago Randall Jarrell published a novel—*Pictures from an Institution*—designed to make people laugh. Here is a sentence from the narrator about Benton College, whose trendy egalitarianism of 1954 is the meaty orthodoxy of the *Yale Daily News* in 1987. "And there were what I [the narrator] used to call to myself token students: black students, brown students, yellow students, students who were believers of the major creeds of Earth—one or two of each. If there is in Tierra del Fuego a family of fire-worshippers with a daughter of marriageable age, and a couple of thousand dollars a year to spare, they can educate her at Benton."

One would think that a single sentence published every now and then in the *Yale Daily News* would suffice. It would say: "Membership in the editorial or business boards of the *Yale Daily News* is achieved by merit in competitions in which gender and race play no role." What is it that the editor of the *News* talks about when visiting with members of the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan? A pledge that the *News* will come out in favor of bilingual education? What is there to say to the gays—that no competitor will be subjected to a Rorschach test? What is there to say to the women's groups?

Ah, plenty. Andrew and his ministers have drawn up imperial decrees on the matter, field trips in Toleration.

"We are committed to eliminating sexism. Through a process of discussion and investigation, we are trying to examine sexual discrimination and end it. Last month, the editorial board voted to change its policy on gender differentiation: We now refer to female first-year students as 'freshwomen' and to mixed-sex groups and individuals of unknown sex as 'freshpeople' (singular, 'freshperson')."

Ah, what the late Randall Jarrell would have done with that. The president of Benton College was so . . . so tolerant that he "yearned for men to be discovered on the moon, so that he could prove that he was not prejudiced against moonmen." Andrew Romanoff would go Jarrell one better, by insisting that he was not prejudiced against moonpersons.

It is disappointing that in a college that attracts major talent, the ideology of egalitarianism should, even among aspirant writers, have such a deadening effect on the ear. I predict the revolt will one day come (as surely it must come) not from the cloddish ideologues of the male sex, but from the women. "Don't you call me a freshwoman to my face," a fresh woman will freshly say to a tone-deaf freshperson, and the bells will ring, and personkind will cheer. □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

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WANTED IMMEDIATELY: black-and-white photographs, cartoons, illustrations, posters, buttons, and other memorabilia for *A Pictorial History of American Conservatism* (1776 to the present), which will be published by the Philosophical Library in the fall of 1987. Send all submissions to Maggie Gallagher, c/o *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Please include a descriptive caption, a permission slip, and an S.A.S.E.

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Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

FEMALE WASP, 41, likes eating out and in, short country walks, Scrabble, church, travel, animals. Seeks compatible male counterpart for friendship or more in Northeast Atlanta suburban area. Write NR Box 4439.

ALL-AROUND GUY, Christian, 24, currently grad student (European history), likes sports, reading, walking, intelligent conversation; seeks woman of similar age and tastes for correspondence or more. Write NR Box 4440.

OHIO-AREA conservative, Catholic, single, college-educated male, 32, nuclear engineer, seeks correspondence with single Catholic female, 25–32, who enjoys *NR*, C-Span, sports, dancing. Write NR Box 4426.

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BOSTON, single white female, 30, 5'4", 110 lbs., pretty, articulate, soft-spoken. Enjoy outdoors, reading, traveling (particularly overseas). Am more at home in the country and seek a man interested in a family life. Write NR Box 4452.

ATTRACTIVE DALLAS health professional, 33, never married, seeks sensible yet sensitive male with compatible interests: music (Vaughan Williams to Winwood), films, concerts, books, nature, horsemanship, sports, Anglophilia. Photo appreciated. Write NR Box 4438.

PHILADELPHIA AREA. Banker, 27, 6'4", politically conservative, attractive, athletic, private-college B.A., seeks attractive, college-educated woman 23–29, for companionship and possible long-term relationship. Interests include sports, politics, music, reading, and good conversation. Write NR Box 4433.

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Miscellaneous

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DREAMS INTERPRETED. Send detailed description, frequency, and any relevant information pertaining to the dream, including food, liquid, or allergies prior to the dream. $25 per dream to: D.A.H., 115 East 6th Avenue, Kennewick, Wash. 99336.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Boardwalk confection contest? (2 words) — 27 155 72 91 10 39 115 165 54

B. Haiti is part of it — 93 131 145 68 175 26 160 5 45 112

C. Sierra peak — 66 31 9 135 53 167 108 44 85

D. This kind of truck may face the scales of justice — 143 20 107 7 159 94 118 133 34 62

E. Port city on the Rhine — 182 124 16 116 3 69 141 52 148 106

F. Breakfast fare (var.) — 140 86 123 61 21 168 47 103

G. Geometric figure — 144 51 73 92 13 125 139 166 35

H. Luxurious but restrained — 78 46 25 130 164 111 121

I. They stand on this in D.C. — 36 58 183 14 137 163 90 113

J. Can you take a byte out of this computer? — 128 50 95 32 180

K. A capital of the Confederacy — 84 158 126 48 24 71 150 2

L. World leader who mistook his shoe for a gavel — 156 146 110 75 153 122 6 170 55 82

M. Size up — 109 154 149 100 4 30 169 87

N. Unprincipled person — 179 151 65 76 19 42 1 33 120

O. Group of soldiers, or their assignment — 173 37 89 17 97 161

P. Channel unavailable on cable TV! — 174 129 80 162 15 104 63

Q. Asian dominoes —and it's no theory! — 184 59 127 114 147 88 18

R. This refuse sounds awful — 176 56 138 79 102

S. Hotel eatery (2 words) — 119 28 142 177 64 49 152 12 74 101

T. How FDR spelled w-e-l-f-a-r-e — 96 83 134 172 41 29

U. Siesta time — 8 178 117 70 22 132 81 57 98

V. Runner Sebastian — 99 38 181

W. Wyoming park — 43 171 60 40 67 136 77 11 105 23

157

1 N		2 K	3 E	4 M	5 B	6 L	7 D	8 U	9 C	10 A		11 W	12 S	13 G	14 I		15 P	16 E		17 O	
18 Q	19 N	20 D	21 F	22 U	23 W	24 K	25 H	26 B	27 A		28 S	29 T		30 M	31 C	32 J		33 N	34 D	35 G	
36 I	37 O	38 V	39 A	40 W	41 T		42 N	43 W		44 C	45 B	46 H		47 F	48 K	49 S		50 J	51 G	52 E	53 C
54 A	55 L		56 R	57 U	58 I		59 Q	60 W	61 F		62 D	63 P	64 S		65 N	66 C	67 W	68 B	69 E	70 U	
71 K	72 A		73 G	74 S	75 L	76 N	77 W	78 H		79 R		80 P	81 U	82 L	83 T	84 K	85 C	86 F	87 M	88 Q	89 O
	90 I	91 A		92 G	93 B	94 D		95 J	96 T	97 O	98 U	99 V	100M	101S	102R	103F	104P		105W	106E	
107D	108C	109M	110L	111H	112B	113I		114Q	115A	116E	117U	118D	119S	120N		121H	122L	123F		124E	125G
126K	127Q	128J	129P	130H	131B	132U	133D		134T	135C	136W		137I	138R		139G	140F	141E		142S	143D
144G		145B	146L	147Q	148E	149M	150K	151N	152S	153L		154M	155A	156L	157W		158K		159D	160B	161O
162P		163I	164H	165A	166G		167C	168F		169M	170L	171W		172T	173O	174P	175B		176R	177S	
178U	179N	180J	181V	182E	183I	184Q															

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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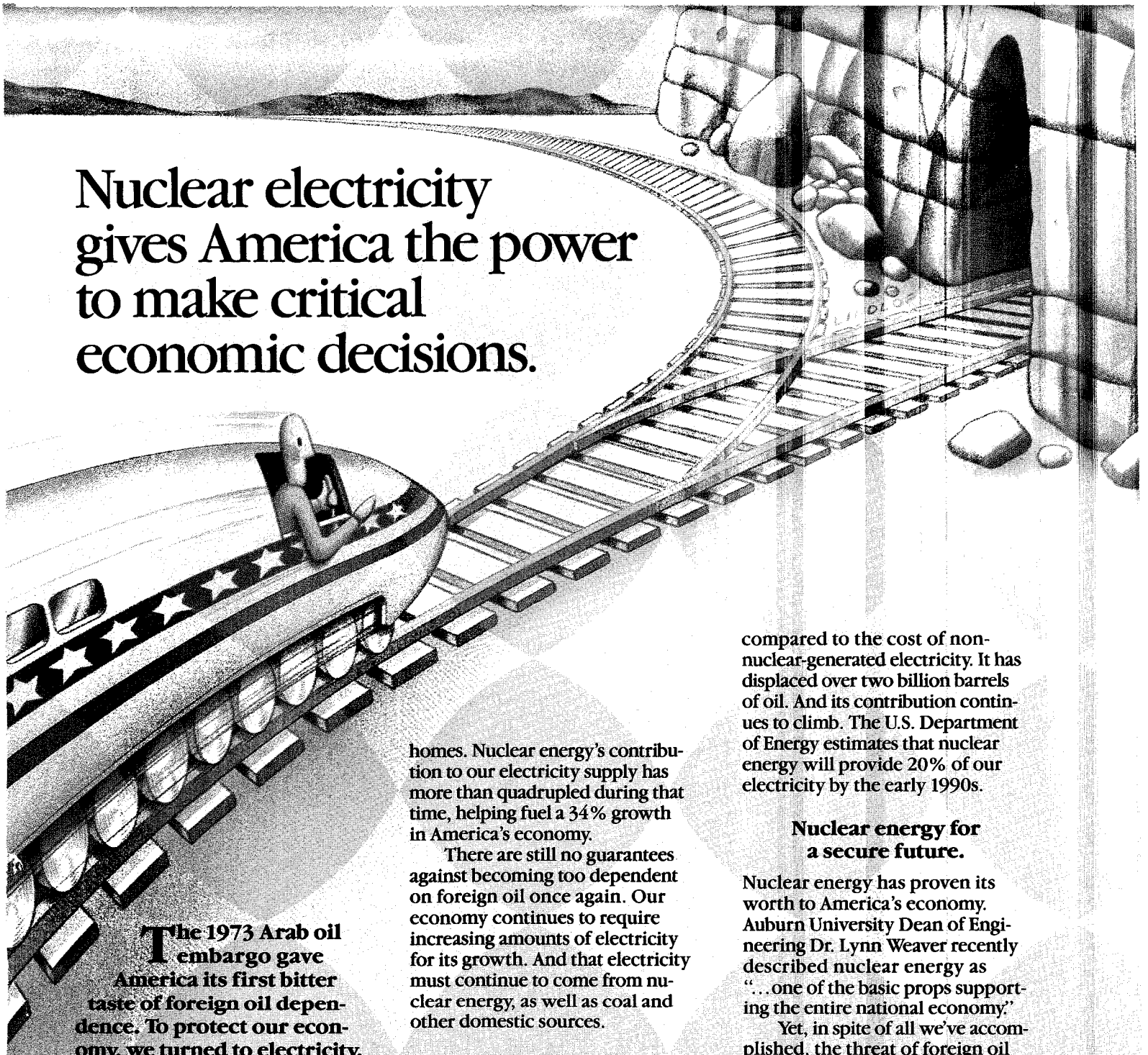
Nuclear electricity gives America the power to make critical economic decisions.



The 1973 Arab oil embargo gave America its first bitter taste of foreign oil dependence. To protect our economy, we turned to electricity. Using American resources and technology. As a result, nuclear energy has established itself as a cornerstone in rebuilding a strong economy.

The electrification of America

Electricity is the only major form of energy that has experienced overall growth since 1973. We are using 36% more now than we did then. It serves new uses in our factories and heats twice as many of our homes. Nuclear energy's contribution to our electricity supply has more than quadrupled during that time, helping fuel a 34% growth in America's economy.

There are still no guarantees against becoming too dependent on foreign oil once again. Our economy continues to require increasing amounts of electricity for its growth. And that electricity must continue to come from nuclear energy, as well as coal and other domestic sources.

The growth of nuclear energy

American nuclear electricity was born in 1956. By 1973, it had become a technology America could turn to when faced with the oil crisis. And today, over 100 nuclear plants make nuclear energy our second leading electricity source, behind coal. In fact, nuclear energy and coal together have provided over 95% of all new electricity generated in America over the past decade.

Nuclear energy also saved Americans between 35 and 62 billion dollars from 1974 to 1985, compared to the cost of non-nuclear-generated electricity. It has displaced over two billion barrels of oil. And its contribution continues to climb. The U.S. Department of Energy estimates that nuclear energy will provide 20% of our electricity by the early 1990s.

Nuclear energy for a secure future.

Nuclear energy has proven its worth to America's economy. Auburn University Dean of Engineering Dr. Lynn Weaver recently described nuclear energy as "...one of the basic props supporting the entire national economy."

Yet, in spite of all we've accomplished, the threat of foreign oil dependence remains. Difficult choices will still need to be made. But one fact has made itself very clear: the more we develop our own energy sources like nuclear energy and coal, the more we control our own economic destiny.

For a free booklet on energy independence, write to the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 1537 (ED30), Ridgely, MD 21681. Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

Information about energy America can count on

U.S. COMMITTEE FOR ENERGY AWARENESS

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